

THE MONTH

CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER, 1938

	PAGE
COMMENTS.....	By Assistant Editor 289
THE TECHNIQUE OF CONFUSION	By Arnold Lunna 301
THE FEAST OF CHRIST THE KING (Verse)	By J.K. 311
SOME KNOTTY POINTS FOR SPIRITUALISTS. III. Is the Atmosphere of Spiritualism Wholesome?	By Herbert Thurston 312
CATHOLICS IN ENGLAND TO-DAY	By C. C. Martindale 324
"THERE WAS CECILIA . . ."	By M. O'Rourke 334
WHAT IS PEACE? Reflections on a Meeting at the Hague.	By Leo O'Hea 341
THE BRIGHTON CONFERENCE	By John Murray 348
TRUE LOVE (Verse)	By T. King 357
MISCELLANEA	358
I. Critical and Historical Notes. Roman Vignettes. The Shrine of Our Lady at Knock.	
II. Our Contemporaries.	
REVIEWS.....	371
1. (1) The New Ireland. By J. B. Morton. (2) The Portugal of Salazar. By Michael Derrick. (3) The Mission of Austria. By Edward Quinn. 2. (1) Communism and Man. By F. J. Sheed. (2) Christ and the Workers. By Stanley B. James. 3. St. Cyprian's "De Unitate," chap. 4 in the Light of the Manuscripts. By Maurice Bévenot, S.J. 4. The New Testament. Papers read at the Summer School of Catholic Studies, held at Cambridge, 1937. Preface by Rev. C. Lattey, S.J.	
SHORT NOTICES	377
BOOKS RECEIVED.....	383

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THE MONTH

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EDITORIAL COMMENTS

The Threat of War

DURING the past three weeks war clouds have gathered over Europe, seeming now darker and more threatening, now fainter and thinning under the breezes of hope. There was a short period immediately prior to Mr. Chamberlain's first German visit when they loomed so alarmingly that there seemed little chance of escaping the storm. At the present moment, with the publication of the German ultimatum to Czechoslovakia (for that is what it is), the sky has darkened again: the atmosphere is ominous. From these weeks of crowded happenings and changing prospects one or two impressions stand out with extreme clarity. Among these is the intense effort that has been made by the British Government under the strongly marked personal leadership of the Prime Minister to stop the drift towards war. It is well to recall the fact that in 1914 Europe drifted into war as the result of a local racial quarrel between the Serbs and the Austrian regime: German ambition, the rivalry of Slav and Teuton were in the background. To-day the occasion is once again a local racial difference which, in the common opinion, is being used by those who appear to be directing German policy, for expansion and domination throughout Central and Eastern Europe. Were war to come from that dispute, it would be the greatest crime and folly imaginable: and Europe would pay the penalty of a suffering and catastrophe hitherto scarcely experienced and might well collapse in final revolution. The attitude and conduct of the British Government during these fateful weeks have been such that, should war arise in spite of every effort to settle the dispute in question, this country and its Government could face whatever it might bring, with a free and honest conscience. It would be abundantly clear that reasonableness and common sense and justice had been determinedly thrust aside and that brutality and deceit had forced the issue and turned deliberately and of evil purpose to war. There would be no further

question where lay the major responsibility for that foul crime of war. Mr. Chamberlain's visits to Germany were a bold and unconventional step and were everywhere welcomed with a feeling of relief and hope. Indifferent to diplomatic tradition he showed himself: and indifferent also to the criticism such a step would necessarily involve. He was endeavouring to meet a most urgent situation by direct and straightforward mediation. Whatever be the ultimate results of his mission, his good will and earnest desire for peace have been clearly manifested to the world. It is unfortunate that his effort has been depreciated by certain elements in this country as a loss of dignity, as "kotowing" to Hitler, and the rest. Of one thing we feel certain, and it is this. When the record of these weeks shall have been finally written and impartial history have passed her verdict on men's actions during their course, his readiness to put aside personal considerations, his determination to do everything possible to avert catastrophe, will be rated as something more honourable far, and of infinitely greater human worth than the arrogant blustering and envenomed speech which elsewhere have made the solution of the problem at issue doubly difficult, and left it fraught with such possibilities of disaster.

The Sudeten Problem

FOR, when all is said and done, the problem of the *Sudetendeutschen* admits of a ready solution. This solution has in fact been accepted with greater or less reluctance by everyone in question. The further crisis concerns not the solution itself but the method and extent of its application. In other words, it lies in the difference between the Anglo-French Proposals, accepted by the Czechs "only under the strongest pressure from Great Britain and France," and those contained in the German memorandum, which they consider excessive and unacceptable. The former proposals give and guarantee to the Germans all that they have demanded, with safeguards for the inhabitants of the areas which will eventually be occupied from the Reich, and an international guarantee of the Czechoslovak State in its new form. The difference between the two methods of solution is not great; and the full aspirations of the *Sudetendeutschen* are satisfied in the Anglo-French form. It is unthinkable that responsible leaders should plunge their countries and possibly the whole of Europe into

deadly war to secure some shadow of their own imagination when the substance has been already granted them. Further, the "neutralization" of Czechoslovakia, that is to say, the abandonment of her existing alliances with France and Soviet Russia—a point to which the Germans have always shown themselves very sensitive—is established by the Anglo-French plan. The march of recent events has been so rapid that it is now of little more than academic interest to discuss whether partial dismemberment of this post-War State is to be justified or not. It was created at Versailles partly with the purpose of serving as an anti-German bulwark in the East. It was in part a synthetic State though it should not be forgotten that as far as Bohemia and Moravia are concerned, its present frontiers are those of the old Czech kingdom of the Přemyslids, and of the later Habsburg Kronland. From the beginning it comprised peoples of too many nationalities, some of them, the Hungarians in Southern Slovakia and the Poles in the Teschen area, being included for no very apparent reason: the Czechs themselves numbered scarcely 50 per cent of the population. Promises were made to the various minorities, as, for example, in the Note of May 20, 1919, that there would be "an extremely liberal regime which will resemble that of Switzerland." Unfortunately, these promises were either ignored or somewhat grudgingly fulfilled. The growing national consciousness among Germans, Hungarians and Poles along its different frontiers, fostered various irredentist sentiments within the Republic and revealed its lack of natural and national cohesion. The pre-War Austria-Hungary was spoken of as a "ramshackle Empire." Czechoslovakia was created as a ramshackle Republic. It is ironical that the ramshackle Republic was raised on the ruins of the ramshackle Empire to the flourish of the doctrine of self-determination. And yet with all the "national" tension that existed within that Empire, there is little or no record of any desire to secede from it. Indeed it was nineteenth-century Czechs of the eminence of Palacký who were the champions of a federal Austria and considered that "if the Austrian Empire had not been in existence, in the interest of Europe, in the interest of Humanity itself, one would hasten to create it."

Frenzied Nationalism

RECENTLY the Holy Father has made several striking pronouncements upon the evils and dangers of excessive nationalism. Blood and race have been made the test of citizenship to the practical exclusion of other factors. One result of this is the neglect of broader and more humanitarian ideals; characteristics supposed to be peculiar to one nation are accentuated at the expense of qualities it shares with others; what is international, is readily considered as anti-national. The ideal is that German should live cheek by jowl with German, Hungarian with Hungarian, and so on. A mixed State, such as Switzerland, composed of two or three different "national" groups, is held to be unnatural and inferior. Would that this were not so, and that other Switzerland were possible, particularly in those parts of Central and Eastern Europe where there is scarcely an area without one or two "national" minorities. But unfortunately, federal ideas have little appeal at the moment, and present realities have to be faced. An overwhelming proportion of the Bohemian and Moravian *Sudetendeutschen*, as of the Austrians six months ago, desire incorporation with their German brethren in the Reich. The majority of the *Sudetendeutschen*, as of the Austrians, are Catholics, and realize, presumably, that such incorporation will mean considerable interference with their religion, the closing of Catholic schools and the attempt to impose a *Weltanschauung*, which is not compatible with Catholicism. But racial considerations are made to come first, and everything else an ineffective second. Under these circumstances the English Opposition slogan of "Hands off Czechoslovakia" and "no dismemberment" is singularly lame. Those who urge this plea are poorer realists than their predecessors who, when national feeling was less acute, understood the dangers of such a composite State. Mr. Arthur Henderson wrote in his book "The Peace Terms": "Millions of Germans are placed under Czechoslovak, Polish and Italian rule. This will create Irredentist populations as considerable as those which provoked the Serbian agitation before the War." Lord Ponsonby, whose services to the Labour Party are beyond question, voices his suspicion of "righteous indignation" (*The Times*, September 24th), and adds these significant sentences: "For practically the first time an attempt is being made be-

fore fighting to reach, on a major issue, a settlement which on balance may have some justice in it, instead of waiting till after fighting for a settlement which cannot be founded on any principles of justice. Indignant and disappointed people seem to forget that war settles nothing. The changes it makes are mere preparations for the next conflict." "We have to consider," another letter reminds us (*The Times*, September 22nd), "what would follow if, after years of war, Germany was defeated. Would the Allies give the Sudetenland to Czechoslovakia? That would be to ensure the repetition of the trouble of to-day. If, on the other hand, they made a durable settlement based on local desires, they would be producing precisely what they had fought to prevent." Anti-Fascist propaganda tells us that Czechoslovakia must be defended on the grounds that it is a democratic State. A profession of democracy means that large sections of the population should have the right to say how they will be ruled. The German section has decided with no uncertain voice that it wishes to be ruled from Berlin and not from Prague: it is difficult to admit democratic principles and rights of self-determination, and still refuse this claim. All this does not mean that we are without sympathy with the Czechs in their days of trial. They have experienced German oppression in the past. But it is evident that, the question of war quite apart, Czechoslovakia cannot survive in its present form. Far better that it should be reconstituted through methods of peace rather than by means of war.

The Latest Statements

HERR HITLER'S Berlin speech (September 26th) was tempestuous and shot through with abusive denunciation of the Czechs. But if its general tone could scarcely be termed reassuring, it did not shut the door to further negotiation which the previous Godesberg memorandum had apparently excluded. Much was said of the German desire for peace and it was reiterated that Germany had guaranteed the inviolability of the territory of her neighbours (always, it must be added, with the exception of Czechoslovakia). In two important points a closer rapprochement was suggested between the Anglo-French and German plans already mentioned. Herr Hitler expressed his willingness to accept the offer of the British Legion to maintain order in the Sudeten

areas during the period of the plebiscite. There was a reference also to a possible guarantee of the future Czechoslovak State, admittedly after further satisfaction of other national demands, presumably those of Poles and Hungarians. "If the Czechs," he asserted, "solve the problem of their other minorities in a decent manner, then the Czech nation does not interest me any more; and I, as far as I am concerned, will guarantee it." The words were spoken with some gesture of contempt, but for all that, they show some advance from the Godesberg position. A letter of Mr. Chamberlain, issued after the speech, in which he speaks of the calamity of a war in Europe "over a question on which agreement has already been largely obtained," refers to Herr Hitler's apparent conviction that the promises made by the Czechs will never be fulfilled except through force of arms. He reminds him that those promises were made, not directly to the German Government but to those of Great Britain and France. "Speaking for the British Government," the letter continues, "we regard ourselves as morally responsible for seeing that the promises are carried out fairly and fully, and we are prepared to undertake that they shall be so carried out with all reasonable promptitude, provided that the German Government will agree to the settlement of terms and conditions of transfer by discussion and not by force." When it is remembered that in the same speech Herr Hitler re-emphasized the fact that "when this problem is solved, Germany has no more territorial problems in Europe," it appears to us inconceivable that a dispute, now definitely settled and with the fulfilment of the solution morally guaranteed by Great Britain, and, it may safely be added, by France as well, can be made the occasion of world-wide war. A letter to *The Times* (September 27th) asserts that for the ordinary man in Germany the mediation of Mr. Chamberlain was "the bold move of a generous gentleman and a lover of peace": it has done a great deal to remove the bitterness that has been growing during the past few years and given place "to the old yearning for a better understanding with Great Britain which had been such a feature of post-War Germany." Mr. Chamberlain has fully merited the epithet of "Peacemaker." It is our earnest hope and prayer that this title may be his, not only in endeavour but also in successful achievement.

Spain for the Spaniards

ON September 21st Dr. Negrin announced at Geneva that his Government had decided to withdraw all foreign combatants from its forces and would request the League to supervise their departure. Our first reaction to this assertion was to suppose that the process of converting foreign legionaries into synthetic Spaniards was now complete. But apparently, on paper at least, the project is to apply to all foreigners, including those who have been naturalized since July 16, 1936. Valencia propaganda, however, has been so much more skilful than Valencia military strategy that we remain very unconvinced. This decision is qualified by *The Times* (September 23rd) as "unquestionably politic." The various International Brigades, it considers, have sustained heavy losses, and "their withdrawal is now unlikely to have much military importance." As compensation Dr. Negrin hopes for greater moral support from the League, and the consent of the French and other Governments to the importation and passage of arms into his territory. Meanwhile, recent official figures, guaranteed by the Nationalists, reveal the extent of foreign intervention on Barcelona's side which unblushingly proclaims (with scarcely veiled contempt for those who accept its ridiculous professions) that it is fighting against a foreign aggressor. During the first two years of the war (the data are given up to August 1st of this year) the following armaments of Russian origin had been captured: 84 tanks, 71 guns, 275 mortars and mine-throwers, 577 machine guns, 35,912 rifles, 91,000 shells and over sixty million cartridges. In addition, the following French material has been either taken or abandoned: 24 tanks, 85 guns, 89 mortars, 112 machine guns, 29,370 rifles, 22,400 shells and grenades, along with twenty-four million cartridges. Among further hauls of Franco's troops are nearly ten million cartridges of British manufacture, and more than eleven million cartridges from Mexico. The number of enemy aeroplanes brought down since the beginning of the campaign includes 809 Russian and 139 French machines. During the same period 2,133 Government officers and 210,113 men have been taken prisoners. Of the officers only 941 were Spaniards: of the men 47,565 were foreigners, more than half of them being French. From a French paper we learn that the Marseilles dock strike was not allowed to interfere with the dispatch of arms to Barcelona which was carried out at night.

Russian shipments of heavy material such as tanks, guns and bombs, are made from Odessa to Oran : there the cargo is distributed among smaller vessels which undertake the crossing to Cartagena or Valencia with the minimum of risk. These figures tell their own story more soberly and withal more eloquently than any propaganda. It should now be reasonably evident that foreign intervention first occurred, and has continued in alarming measure, on the Republican side. And yet our secular Press still thinks in terms of Germans and Italians when there is talk of such interference from outside. We are tempted to add the rider : English papers please copy.

Bombs and Bernanos

IN certain quarters it is taken for granted that the Spanish Nationalists share with the Japanese the monopoly of bombing innocent civilians. To such as entertain this notion the first report of a Bombing Commission, composed of neutral observers, which dealt with raids upon Alicante and Barcelona, must have come as an unwelcome surprise. The conclusion reached in the report was that forty-one of the forty-six attacks upon Alicante were legitimate attempts to hit the railway or the port. Of the remaining five, one or two were due to the mistakes of inexperienced airmen, and one to a pilot's need to escape, unloaded, as quickly as he could. One raid on the harbour of Torrevieja is definitely condemned as a deliberate attack upon a civil population. The general impression, therefore, is that Nationalist air attacks, with very few regrettable exceptions, have been made upon objectives that are recognized to be military. As far as Republican attacks are concerned, Franco's statistics tell quite another story. These are issued by the General Staff of the Nationalist Air Services and record 2,091 raids on 373 different centres which have resulted in 18,985 civilian casualties. Like the supposed process of evolution, the Englishman's *saeva indignatio* may be remarkably selective : it can be concentrated upon certain real or imaginary evils to the far too easy exclusion of greater atrocities.

M. Bernanos's book, "Les Grands Cimitières sous la Lune," has been referred to on more than one occasion in these pages. The fact that it is to be published in an English version and will undoubtedly be used for anti-Franco propaganda among Catholics, prompts us to make one further

reference to it. As is well known, it contains a bitter attack upon both the Nationalist authorities and the Church in Majorca. In a letter to Cardinal Hinsley (*The Catholic Herald*, September 16th) the Archbishop-Bishop of that island denies categorically several of the accusations made in the book. There was, he asserts, no massacre of prisoners taken in the retreat of the Catalans who attacked Majorca during August, 1936. The Archbishop had none of that intimate knowledge of the plans of civil and military authorities which M. Bernanos imputes to him. When cases of harsh treatment were brought to his notice, he intervened on behalf of the sufferers and was able to save the life of Señor Rossello, the Socialist leader, who had been condemned to death by a military tribunal. Finally, the assertion of M. Bernanos that people were bullied into making their Easter Communion by fear of arrest, should their names be absent from the Communion lists, is dismissed as quite fantastic. This letter needs to be brought to the notice of those who, for whatever the reason, have remained consistently and deliberately out of sympathy with Spanish Catholic effort and the considered judgments of the Spanish hierarchy, and who have welcomed—much to the astonishment of their Spanish brethren—books and articles of the kind provided by M. Bernanos.

The Anti-God Congress

THE International Congress of the World Union of Free Thinkers petered out in appropriate insignificance. After some days of tedious addresses, its General Meeting gave itself over to abuse of the Cardinal and the Home Secretary, and to its customary blasphemies. The measure of real freedom in its thought was evidenced in the political sympathies of its members which showed clearly through its transparent irreligious covering. Russia was acclaimed as the free-thought country par excellence, and next to Russia on the roll of honour was Czechoslovakia where, it was stated, a million people were thinking as freely as the ancients gathered together in Conway Hall. The President extended a hearty welcome to the Spanish delegates, naturally from Barcelona, where free thought is presumably at its purest, and has manifested itself in the practical form of church burning and wholesale murder. The fight in Spain, Mr. Langdon Davies assured them, was "against the monster that claimed that it had some sort of commission from some sort of God."

But it was obvious that some of the more old-fashioned rationalists were unhappy about this twentieth-century variety of free thinking that was scarcely to be distinguished from Communist propaganda. Professor Catlin, invited to join the Committee of Honour for the Congress, declined the invitation on the grounds that the Russian delegation, which proposed to attend it, "stood for the repression of all other views save those of Lenin's within the Communist party in Russia." Mr. Julian Huxley, in a friendly message to those assembled, while agreeing that "the suppression of free speech and free thought and the imposition of an official orthodoxy is always a menace," added the clause "whether the orthodoxy be Christian or Hindu, Communist or Nazi." "I hope," he concluded, "the Congress will pay special attention to these modern political substitutes for religion." The Congress did pay special attention to one of these two substitutes, namely, Communism, but only in terms of praise and adulation. To Catholics the chief significance of the Congress was the magnificent profession of sincere faith, of which it was the occasion, witnessed in the silent march of 50,000 men on Sunday, September 18th, from Southwark to Westminster. Taken in conjunction with the C.T.S. conference at Brighton on the preceding week-end, it was a splendid gesture of faith and loyalty and must have quickened many a Catholic's feeling of *esprit de corps* in the deepest sense of all, that, namely, of membership of Christ's Church with its glorious history of twenty centuries, and the divine guarantee that, come what may and whatever else shall perish, it will flourish and abide.

A Social Consciousness

WITHIN a week of one another, towards the end of August and beginning of September, were held the Pax Romana Congress for University students and the second gathering of the Young Christian Workers: the former at Bled in Yugoslavia, the latter nearer home at Haverstock Hill. The significance of these two reunions lay not in the numbers of participants (in neither case was this remarkable) but in the vital theme of their discussions. This was the question of a Catholic approach to the working classes. Father John Burke of University College, Dublin, speaking to the university students, blamed the tardiness of Catholics in translating into action the social teaching of the Popes. This made it possible for the revolutionaries in Barcelona to plaster

walls with extracts from the Papal Encyclicals, and the additional indictment of Catholic sloth: "This is what Catholicism *says*, this is what we will *do*." It was generally agreed that Catholic undergraduates showed a sincere desire to undertake social work in order to reduce class antagonism and to remove injustice: but they suffered, at least in comparison with the Communist and Marxist student, in that they lacked the necessary knowledge, were not sure where they stood and what was their aim, and as a rule had not the same contacts with working men. A fuller study of Catholic social doctrine was imperative. The second convention at Haverstock Hill was honoured by the presence of Cardinal Hinsley who expressed his keen and kindly appreciation of Y.C.W. work. The purpose of this organization is to regain the working class for Christ through men who themselves belong to it. "You have no other motive for your existence," they were reminded, "than to bring young workers back to Christ." Such an apostolate will mean sacrifice and effort and almost certain opposition. Father Rochford of Poplar painted a grim picture of the conditions under which young Catholic working men often have to exist, circumstances which have frequently led to what is rather class than individual apostasy. It is in this atmosphere that the Y.C.W. will have to exercise its influence. That the work can be done, and done with great success, is shown by the rapid development of the Jociste movement in Belgium, France and Switzerland, where the membership is 80,000, 100,000 and 20,000 respectively. A fuller acquaintance with Catholic social principles, the desire to spread this knowledge and to insist that it be recognized and taken into account in social and industrial life, an attempt at once to strengthen their inner spiritual outlook and to grow in true Christian neighbourliness and charity—these are elements in this very modern crusade, already strong abroad and now beginning to develop here. A personal link between the two Congresses of which we have spoken, was the presence at the former of Canon Cardijn, the founder and present director of the Jociste movement.

Ethics and Religion

THAT there exists a very real difference between ethics and religion is a fact that is not always recognized. Indeed it might be asserted, without any wish for controversy, that present-day Protestantism, with its insistence on private

interpretation and an individual sense of duty, is more markedly ethical in character than religious. And yet this was not always so. The original "Reformers" emphasized faith to the detriment of good works. Their attitude then was almost: "Believe, and it doesn't much matter what you do." The two halves of the statement have now been reversed, and it might read: "Behave decently, and it doesn't much matter what you believe." Briefly, ethics have to do with conduct: religion with a relation, an attitude towards God. The Stoics of ancient Greece and Rome and the German disciples of Kant were ethicists rather than religious men. At the Modern Churchmen's Conference Mr. J. T. Christie, the headmaster of Westminster School, made an interesting reference to this distinction in speaking of what is often termed "public school religion." Its essence he considered to be the substitution of conduct for real religion. To give the principal place to conduct was, in his opinion, to reduce religion to a kind of spiritual extra, cultivated by the few, and to replace the Christian ideal by a standard of gentlemanly behaviour which was only too easy of achievement, and remained, of course, merely on the natural plane. Christianity, he insisted, could not be summed up in the maxim "Play the game": it involved a conversion to and service of the Almighty. In fact this substitution of ethics for religion is, he considered, "one of the worst and commonest betrayals of the religious ideals of education." The confusion of these two notions is very common in this country and is epitomized in the judgment: "Christian is as Christian does." There is a sense in which this is very true: but another in which it is inadequate and even false. In Catholicism both faith and good works have their due place: there is faith that finds expression in virtue, and virtue that is raised to a higher level through faith. The Catholic is theocentric, Christocentric: it is from God and Christ that all else comes, the love of the neighbour derives from the more primal love of God. Through the spiritual principle of grace he is united with Christ in Christ's Mystical Body that is the Church. He is elevated from Nature to Super-nature, his actions have a supernatural value that is denied to merely natural virtue. The over-stressing of conduct to the exclusion of more genuinely religious ideas means, in practice, that no account is taken of the supernatural, and the whole order of grace is ignored. On the other hand, in Catholic thought and theology ethics and religion find their true and fruitful harmony.

THE TECHNIQUE OF CONFUSION

THE Komintern have exploited with consummate skill the readiness of unsophisticated "progressives" to accept with equal enthusiasm mutually exclusive pronouncements. The "Friends of Soviet Russia" are the most unexacting of friends. They applaud with benign impartiality the Komintern's policy of instigating civil war and the Komintern's programme for ensuring peace. They sing hosannas to the Komintern as the champion of democracy, and acquiesce no less readily in the Komintern's contempt for every principle of democratic Government.

Admittedly bourgeois politicians often preach what they have no intention of practising, but bourgeois statesmen are too timid to preach mutually exclusive doctrines. Lord Carson did not simultaneously assert that Ulster would fight and that Ulster would support a League against War and Sinn Fein. Mr. de Valera did not simultaneously demand independence for Ireland and declare his unshaken loyalty to the British Crown. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain did not demand tariffs in the sacred name of Free Trade.

There is nothing new in political inconsistency, but the Komintern deserve credit for being the first consciously to exploit the technique of confusion. The Komintern are the first to realize the full significance of the fact that by confusing the issue it is possible to provide every potential supporter with something to his taste. The pacifist is impressed by their praise of peace; the revolutionary by their promise of civil war. Their crusade against Fascism appeals to the democrat; their contempt for democracy to the Left Wing intellectual. No political party has exploited with more striking success and with more superb impudence the political possibilities of deliberate confusion.

For this purpose the Komintern employ two methods. Communists are encouraged to blur the distinctions between things that are different and to invent artificial distinctions between things that are the same. The title of Earl Browder's book, "Democracy or Fascism?", illustrates the technique of equating things which are different. The implication of this title is that Communism is democratic. Earl Browder,

of course, knows better, for as Secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. he is engaged on the task of undermining American democracy. Communists have been very successful in suppressing an important chapter in Russian history, a chapter which negates their claim to have saved Russia from Tsarism. It is only the well-informed minority who realize that Tsarism was destroyed by Russian democrats, and that it was democracy, not Tsarism, which was annihilated by Lenin. The first revolution, which was led by democrats, destroyed Tsarism, and replaced autocracy by the democratic Constituent Assembly. The second revolution destroyed democracy and substituted dictatorship. Trotsky records Lenin's complacent post-mortem on the corpse of democracy. "The breaking up of the Constituent Assembly by the Soviet power is the complete and public liquidation of formal democracy in the name of the revolutionary dictatorship. It will be a good lesson."¹ And Trotsky adds: "The further victorious development of the proletarian revolution after the simple, open, brutal breaking up of the Constituent Assembly, dealt formal democracy a finishing stroke from which it has never recovered."²

Of all varieties of Communist hypocrisy surely the most nauseating is this attempt to exploit democratic sentiment on behalf of the assassins of democracy. If Stalin loves democracy, the kiss of Judas was sincere.

The effect of blurring the differences between things as different as democracy and Communism is less dangerous than the effect of tracing artificial distinctions between things that are similar. The armies of world revolution fight under different banners, but Communists, Anarchists, Syndicalists and Trotskyites, however much they may differ on minor points, agree in their hatred of Christian civilization. Theoretically, Communists and Anarchists represent extreme poles of political thought, for Anarchism is in revolt against all authority, whereas Communism advocates an extreme form of State authoritarianism, but Communists and Anarchists agree in their determination to destroy the existing civilization, and in their conviction that this common objective can best be obtained by terrorism, by violence and by the exploitation of resentment and hate.

"The scientific concept, dictatorship," said Lenin, "means

¹ Leon Trotsky, "Lenin," p. 150. London: Harrap.

² *Ibid.*, p. 151.

nothing more nor less than power which directly rests on violence, which is not limited by any laws or restricted by any absolute rules."¹ "I shall arm myself to the teeth," exclaimed Proudhon, the founder of modern Anarchism, "I shall begin a war that will only end with my life."² Proudhon's disciple, Bakunin, the founder of Spanish Anarchism, was even more extreme. He insisted on the uselessness of killing *wicked* people. "If you kill an unjust judge," he wrote, "you may be understood to mean merely that you think judges ought to be just; but if you go out of your way to kill a just judge, it is clear that you object to judges altogether. If a son kills a bad father, the act, though meritorious in its humble way, does not take us much further. But if he kills a good father, it cuts at the root of that pestilential system of family affection and loving-kindness and gratitude on which the present system is largely based."³

Syndicalism is an attempted compromise between State Socialism (or Communism) and Anarchism. The State as such must disappear, but its place is to be taken by a federation of trade unions. The organized workers are to control the instruments of production in their respective trades. Sorel, the founder of modern Syndicalism, is an attractive writer, and as the years passed the proportion of shrewd sense in his work steadily increased, with the result that shortly before he died, Paris was full of rumours that he had moved over to the Right. His famous apology for violence is far less extreme than Lenin's, but like Lenin, he was convinced that "Socialism could not exist without an apology for violence." "Le rapprochement qui s'établit entre les grèves violentes et la guerre est fécond en conséquences."⁴ But he adds that he had never shared Jaurès's admiration for "la haine créatrice," perhaps because he was beginning to discover that hate creates nothing. Dimitrov, when he called for a "joint struggle of the Communist, Social Democratic, Anarcho-Syndicalist and other workers" implicitly recognized that the differences between revolutionaries are superficial, their agreement fundamental.⁵

¹ Quoted by Joseph Stalin, "Problems of Leninism," p. 25. New York: International Publishers.

² Quoted by Lothrop Stoddard, "The Revolt Against Civilization," p. 147. London: Chapman & Hall.

³ Quoted by Professor Gilbert Murray, "Satanism and the World-Order," *The Century*, July, 1920.

⁴ Georges Sorel, "Réflexions sur la Violence," p. 434. Marcel Rivière.

⁵ G. Dimitrov, "International Press Correspondence," p. 1583. November 24, 1934.

The Komintern are now engaged in the attempt to form common fronts, variously described as "Popular," "Democratic," "United," or "Peace," but it is not amalgamation which the Komintern desire but a temporary alliance of revolutionary sects, each of which nominally retains its independence, and all of which are to be directed by the Communist nucleus. The complete fusion of these sects must be avoided until Communism has triumphed, for as long as these sects preserve their identity, the Komintern can incite Anarchists to violence and disown their activities in propaganda designed for foreign consumption. The battle between Communists and Anarchists in the streets of Barcelona was exploited with consummate skill by the Komintern to encourage the illusion of a basic distinction between the different parties who were fighting for control of the Revolution. The champions of Red Spain in democratic countries were glad to attribute to the Anarchists the sole responsibility for crimes which even British Socialists could not easily defend. To the luckless Whites in Red Spain these distinctions appeared less important. If my house is to be burnt over my head, it matters little to me whether a temple to Bakunin the Anarchist or to Stalin the Communist is subsequently erected on the site of what was once my home. There are no doubt genuine differences of outlook between Communists and Anarchists, but the distinction between Communists and Socialists is artificial. The word "Socialist" is admittedly a loose label for many varieties of political thought, and it is therefore all the more important to define this elusive term. "The Concise Oxford Dictionary" defines "Socialism" as follows: "Principle that individual freedom should be completely subordinated to interests of community, with any deductions that may be correctly or incorrectly drawn from it, *e.g.*, substitution of co-operative for competitive production, national ownership of land and capital, State distribution of produce, free education and feeding of children, abolition of inheritance." From the same dictionary I take the following definition of Communism: "Vesting of property in the community, each member working according to his capacity and receiving according to his wants."

Socialists and Communists agree that property should be vested in the community, and that land and capital should be nationally owned, but whereas the governing principle of the Socialist State is "from every man according to his

capacity, to every man according to his *work*" (a principle which permits differential payment for different grades of work), the principle of a communist society is "from every man according to his capacity, to every man according to his *needs*." But this distinction is artificial. No Communist believes in the immediate approach of the communist millennium. Marx and Lenin insisted that society would have to pass through a long period of Socialism which might last for centuries before the State had finally withered away, and before society could accept the simple criterion of needs as a basis for remuneration. No Communist maintains that Soviet Russia has achieved Communism. On the contrary, the orthodox Marxist insists that Soviet Russia is passing through the preliminary phase of State Socialism. The immediate objective of the Communist and of the Socialist is therefore identical, the destruction of Capitalism and the substitution of State Socialism.

Admittedly, few British and few American Socialists, and even fewer French Radical Socialists, are Socialists in the correct sense of the term. Our Conservative Trade Unionists certainly do not desire "the national ownership of land and capital." On the contrary, many of those who describe themselves as Socialists fervently hope that the evils of Capitalism will last out their time. Socialists in the English-speaking world may be divided into an extremist minority who for tactical reasons prefer not to describe themselves as Communists, and a Conservative majority who for tactical reasons profess opinions more extreme than those which they sincerely hold. It is difficult for the Left Wing politician to resist the steady movement towards the Left, or to retain his position unless he placates the extremer elements in his constituency. Such men are attracted not by the principles of Socialism but by the political advantages of the Socialist label. The word "Socialist" covers every variety of Left Wing thought from the Conservative Trade Unionist, anxious to conceal his Conservatism, to the revolutionary Communist anxious to conceal his revolutionary designs. The use or disuse of the word "Communism" has always been determined by purely tactical considerations.

The Communist Manifesto of 1848 "was called *Communist*," writes Emile Burns, "and not *Socialist* because, as Engels explains, the word Socialist was associated with the Utopians on the one hand, and on the other with 'the most

multifarious social quacks, who by all manner of tinkering professed to redress, without any danger to capital and profit, all sorts of social grievances.' But 'whatever portion of the working class had become convinced of the insufficiency of mere political revolutions, and had proclaimed the necessity of a total social change, called itself Communist.'"¹

The word "Communist" has now served its purpose, and is no longer an asset but a liability. The Seventh World Congress of the Komintern resolved that "the word 'Socialist' should be henceforth adopted for use in public in preference to the words 'Communist' or 'Bolshevik.'"² The communist-controlled Press is not only dropping the word "Communist," but is gradually shedding all Communist externals. I brought back from the West Coast of America two copies of the official paper of the Communist Party, *The Western Worker*, issued during February, 1937. The hammer and sickle are conspicuous on the title-page of the paper. Underneath were the words, "Western Organ of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. (section of the Communist International)." Another copy of the paper published in October, 1937, had dropped the hammer and sickle and all reference to the Communist International, and underneath there was a new sub-heading, "People's Champion of Liberty, Progress and Peace." In 1935 *The Daily Worker* openly declared itself to be the "organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain (section of the Communist International)." This caption was the first casualty, for it disappeared in 1937, but the Soviet hammer and sickle were still retained. In 1938, even the hammer and sickle have vanished. G. M. Godden gives a list of factory papers carrying on subversive propaganda. "These papers are generally careful to avoid the symbols of the Workers' Revolutionary Government, the hammer and sickle, and any open talk of social upheaval."³ When Lenin started an English Communist paper he wrote: "We must be (in the beginning) very prudent. The paper must be not too revolutionary in the beginning. If you will have three editors, at least one must be a non-Communist."⁴

The Left Book Club has been Stalin's consistent supporter in Great Britain. Its publications seldom deviate from the

¹ Emile Burns, "A Handbook of Marxism," p. 21. Victor Gollancz.

² *The Times*, May 3, 1938.

³ G. M. Godden, "Communist Attack on Great Britain," p. 27. London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne.

⁴ "Lenin on Britain," p. 272, edition 1934, quoted by G. M. Godden.

most rigid party line. I have yet to discover in them any hint of Trotskyite heresy. Its first publication was a book by Maurice Thorez, Secretary of the Communist Party of France. Mr. Harry Pollitt, Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, has praised the Left Book Club as a scheme "worthy of support."¹ Its membership exceeds 50,000, and its annual income is in the neighbourhood of £75,000.² The Selection Committee of the Left Book Club is controlled by Mr. Victor Gollancz, Professor Laski and Mr. John Strachey. In reply to an inquiry Mr. Gollancz informed me that neither he nor his colleagues, Messrs. Laski and Strachey, are members of the Communist Party. A reviewer in the *Left News* for March, 1938, however, informs us that Mr. Strachey deserves the title "Marxist No. 1."³ In the same issue of the *Left News* Mr. Gollancz, the editor, sums up Mr. Strachey's views: A great Mass labour movement cannot demand of all its members "daily self-dedication to the practical struggle. . . Such dedication can in the nature of the case only be undertaken by a comparatively small corps of men." This group, so Mr. Strachey hopes, will "inevitably act as a kind of leaven," and Mr. Gollancz adds, "Mr. Strachey, rightly or wrongly, regards the Communist Party as the starting point of this smaller corps—precisely because it is Marxist."⁴

"Marxist No. 1" does not belong to the Communist Party. This is much as if the Pope, whom the *Left News* might describe as "Romanist No. 1," were not a member of the Catholic Church. In a recent election in Scotland the votes cast for the Communist candidate exceeded in number the total membership of the Communist Party of Great Britain.⁵ It is

¹ *The Daily Worker*, May 9, 1936.

² G. M. Godden, "Communist Attack on Great Britain," p. 25. London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne.

³ "In American newspaper jargon John Strachey would be described as 'Marxist No. 1.' And the title would be deserved." *Left News*, March, 1938, p. 725.

⁴ *Left News*, March, 1938, p. 727.

⁵ "The whole conception of a party of the new kind is so strange to most people in Britain and America that they easily become confused and suppose that, because, for example, there are only 12,500 members of the Communist Party in Britain, this means that only 12,500 people support Communism. How very far from the truth this is may be seen from the fact that in the two constituencies contested by the British Communist Party at the 1935 General election (Rhondda East and West Fife) 13,655 and 13,462 people, respectively, voted for the Communist candidates. Thus in two small areas with a combined electorate of only 90,514, out of a total electorate of over thirty millions, nearly twice as many people voted Communist as belong to the Communist Party in the whole country." John Strachey: "What are we to do?" Pp. 296, 297. Victor Gollancz.

easy to understand why "Marxists No. 1, 2, 3, etc.," do not belong to the official party, and why the official party cultivates a discreet anonymity. The Communist Party conceals the names of its members, but does not conceal its membership strength, for the *smallness* of the Party reassures apathetic anti-Socialists whose opposition will become dangerous only when the danger of Communism becomes apparent. The Communist Party of Great Britain is bound, as all sections of the Komintern are bound, to be prepared to create an illegal Communist organization alongside that existing legally. The Komintern expressly forbid any deviation from this rule. It is easy to understand why prominent supporters of Soviet Russia officially dissociate themselves from a Party, membership of which may be embarrassing when England awakens to the danger of Communism, but their anomalous position might be illustrated by an imaginary parallel.

Let us assume that the Roman Catholics in England were suspected of ambitions similar to those to which the British Communist Party are by their constitution committed, that is, of plotting civil war in the interests of a foreign Power. Let us assume that Mr. Hilaire Belloc, Mr. Douglas Woodruff, the editor of *The Tablet*, Mr. Christopher Dawson and Mr. Christopher Hollis were not official members of the Roman Catholic Communion, but never wrote a line in criticism of the Vatican, and never ceased to praise the Roman Catholic Church, and let us further assume that the total number of Easter Communicants in a single county exceeded in number the total membership, officially admitted, of the Church in Great Britain. It would be easy to imagine the reactions of the British public to such uncandid methods. It is less easy to understand why the public should tolerate, in the case of Moscow, subterranean methods which neither the British public nor the Vatican would tolerate in the case of Rome.

Earl Browder is an expert virtuoso in the confusion of dissimilarities. He loves to represent Communism as "Twentieth-Century Americanism." "We are the Americans," explains this lackey of Moscow, "and Communism is the Americanism of the twentieth century."¹ And we are asked to believe that the Fathers of the American Revolution,

¹ Earl Browder, "What is Communism?" p. 21. Workers' Library, New York.

those sturdy champions of individual freedom and private property, are the spiritual ancestors of the Americans who are working for a dictatorship on the Russian model.

The founders of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics selected a name which would not need to be changed after Great Britain, the United States, Germany and other countries had been admitted into the planetary system of the Red Star. The extinction of Ukrainian and Georgian independence is a warning of the fate which other countries may expect if they accept "union" with Soviet Russia. If the U.S.A. were to adopt Earl Browder's advice, they would be subjected to the dictatorship of Moscow, and their position would be far less free than their original status as colonies of the British Empire. The Declaration of Independence would be replaced by the most servile declaration of complete dependence on a foreign Power, and those who are working for this end have the impudence to describe themselves as apostles of "Twentieth-Century Americanism."

The Spanish Civil War provides a classic example of the Technique of Confusion. The Komintern are aware that many British and American supporters of the Spanish Republicans still retain a faint prejudice against the pure milk of Communist doctrine. It was important therefore that the Prime Minister of the Republican Government should not be an official Communist, and that the numbers of official Communists in the Government should be kept as low as possible. This policy presented no difficulty since Spanish Communists and Spanish Socialists are, in effect, indistinguishable. It is simply a question of tactics whether a Spanish Red describes himself as a Communist or as a Socialist. In September, 1933, the representatives of Socialists and Communists met in Madrid and announced that "only a Marxist regime would satisfy them."¹ Caballero was never an official member of the Spanish Communist Party, but in an interview with Mr. Knoblauch which is quoted in Knoblauch's book "Correspondent in Spain," he assured Knoblauch that Spain would be the next country to go Communist, and that he, Caballero, would be the Lenin of Spain. During the period of his premiership Caballero sent the following New Year's message to Soviet Russia, "The proletariat of Iberia will try to follow the example of

¹ *The Times*, September 17, 1934.

your great country." ¹ "What is the use of liberty?" exclaimed Caballero in 1934. "Is not the State by definition an absolute power? Certainly we Socialists and true republicans are not going to be foolish enough to grant liberty if at the first opportunity it undermines the foundations of Government." This outburst of candour is for home consumption. It was not reported abroad, and therefore did not disturb the serenity of those innocent people for whom a Spanish Liberal is a Latin variety of Mr. Asquith, and a Spanish Socialist an Iberian variant of Mr. Lansbury.

Caballero was not a Communist. He merely confessed that it was his ambition to be the Lenin of the Spanish Republic. He had never joined the Communist Party. He contented himself with expressing in telegrams to Russia the hope that Spain would follow the example of that great country. "The trick," wrote *La Vanguardia* of Barcelona, "by which they [the Communist Party] do not appear in the Government with any greater preponderance than before, is too naïve to deceive anyone." Sanguine *Vanguardia*! The trick succeeded all too well—in England. *The Times* correspondent was not so easily hoodwinked. "Madrid," he wrote, in an uncensored dispatch on November 21, 1936, "is inundated with Moscow posters to which the Spanish captions have been set, plastering the walls, while the cinemas give endless series of Communist films."

An outstanding example of deliberate confusion is the unreal distinction which Soviet Russia has attempted to establish between her own foreign policy and the policy of the Komintern, described in its official organ as "the general staff of world revolution." The Soviet Government has entered into many agreements with other countries in which they have undertaken in return for trade concessions to refrain from propaganda within the frontiers of the countries concerned. None of these pledges has been kept, and the routine answer of the Soviet in reply to complaints is to insist that the Komintern is an international body entirely distinct from the Soviet Government, whereas, of course, as Lord Snowden stated in *Reynolds Weekly* on March 13, 1927, the Soviet Government, the Communist International and the Russian Trade Unions are a trinity, three in one and one in three.

¹ *The Daily Worker*, January 2, 1937.

The process of Communist infiltration is not confined to political bodies. Communists are worming their way into youth associations, athletic associations and even into the Christian Churches. The violence of their attack on religion is being damped down for the moment in order to entice Christians into their ranks. In the course of a debate at Windsor, Ontario, my opponent, a prominent local Communist, announced that he was a Catholic. "I don't want to argue with Brother Lunn. I want to co-operate with Brother Lunn." But I do not want to co-operate with Brother Cain. There are times when "Non possumus" should be translated, "We are not Abel."

ARNOLD LUNN.

The Feast of Christ the King

A KING, when in the Crib He lay!
A King when on the Cross He died!
Tho' His in life no earthly sway,
His rule was e'er creation—wide;
For He was God in human guise,
Meet subject for all loyalties.

O hidden Lord, withal so great
That angels blazed His royal might,
O King, who dying desolate
Heard Rome itself proclaim His right,
Have we although we love, forgot
To win all those who love Thee not?

Set wide your gates, ye kings of men,
And let the King of Glory in!
Keep aye His law before your ken,
To work His righteousness begin,
And ever at your council boards
Keep place for Him, the Lord of Lords!

J.K.

SOME KNOTTY POINTS FOR SPIRITUALISTS

III. IS THE ATMOSPHERE OF SPIRITUALISM WHOLESOME?

THE attitude of Spiritualists to the cult which they profess is very varied, and it is difficult to speak on the subject to any individual believer without exposing oneself to the retort: "Oh! you quite misunderstand; that is not what Spiritualism means for *me*." Some are intent upon getting into personal touch with departed friends; others are mainly concerned with the abstract question of survival. Some look to Spiritualism for support in their faltering belief in Christianity; others again embrace it precisely because in their view it drives the last nail into the coffin of Christian revelation and Church dogmatism. Further, while some have recourse to communications from the spheres as a source of guidance in all the affairs of daily life, others strongly reprobate this view, regarding it as the profanation of a heaven-sent gift, a profanation which can only lead to disaster.

There is also a similar diversity in the manner of practising Spiritualism. In the case of many people who are claimed as Spiritualists their interest is limited to occasional desultory reading. Others have private sittings with mediums; a few attend the services in Spiritualist "churches"; more are attracted by platform demonstrations or inspirational addresses. On the other hand, there are some who form circles of their own and spend long hours in this exercise, sitting most frequently in the dark. Many again experiment with automatic writing, while others seek to develop a supposed gift for clairvoyance, psychometry, healing or any similar faculty. To an outsider like myself, speaking from a pretty wide acquaintance with the literature of Spiritualism, not forgetting its periodicals, it all seems a city of confusion which is ready to harbour almost everything fantastic, from magic to astrology, provided only it contains some element of the marvellous. Truth and clear thinking, I contend, cannot find a home in such surroundings.

That there are many cultured Spiritualists who study the subject with a serious purpose I have no thought of denying,

but it is perhaps precisely among these that one finds the widest divergence of view. Both in England and America the rank and file seem to me to be influenced by far less worthy motives, and there is no indication that the cause is one for which they are willing to make sacrifices. Mr. George Lawton's book "*The Dream of Life after Death*" throws useful light upon the motives and mentality of the adherents of this movement in its native home.¹ My general impression derived from this and similar sources is that for the vast majority Spiritualism is more a diversion than a creed.

Let me then try to set down here two or three of the characteristics which can hardly fail to impress anyone who takes an impartial view of the movement in its practical aspects. In the first place there is no central authority in Spiritualism, no effective control of the vagaries of any individual adherent who may set himself up to be a leader and guide to his fellows. There are indeed a number of separate organizations, not only in England but on the Continent and in the United States, but they differ greatly among themselves and in some cases actively compete with one another. One is inclined to say that if a strong central authority is needed anywhere, it is surely here, where, as sober-minded Spiritualists themselves admit, hallucination, credulity, undesirable conditions in the séance room, and downright imposture are a constant menace to the unwary. So long as an authoritative voice is lacking we have to judge Spiritualism not by what any individual exponent, even though he be ever so competent and experienced, may tell us about its history and professions, but by what one can gather for oneself from the literature during the past eighty-nine years of its existence.

The foundation of the whole Spiritualist edifice is admittedly the medium. The "*Mediator*" between heaven and earth, according to Mr. J. Arthur Findlay, "is not Christ but the medium." Now, however much it may be urged that the physical phenomena of mediums play an altogether subordinate part in Spiritualism as understood by its high-brow adepts, it is difficult to reconcile this view with the facts of history. It was the physical happenings at Hydesville which started the Fox sisters on their career, and these were reinforced almost immediately afterwards by other phenomena of the same kind, by poltergeist disturbances of the

¹ I refer more particularly to Mr. Lawton's collection of what he calls "credographs" (pp. 434-479 and pp. 512-529), *i.e.*, an analysis of the influences which have led various individuals to embrace Spiritualism.

most materialistic order in connexion with Calvin Brown (who later became their brother-in-law) at Rochester, and by similar disturbances in the house of the Rev. Mr. Phelps at Stratford (Connecticut). At all stages of the movement attention has been directed mainly to the physical phenomena. The conversion of Judge Edmonds and Professor Hare, in the early fifties of the last century, was effected by their witnessing the levitation of tables and similar happenings. Sir William Crookes was convinced by the inexplicable playing of the accordion in the presence of D. D. Home, and by the materializations of "Katie King." The Report of the Dialectical Society in 1871, which drew so much attention to the subject in England, was almost entirely taken up with the physical phenomena, and the widely read books of Aksakof, Lombroso, Charles Richet, von Schrenck-Notzing, E. Geley, Bozzano, etc., are nearly all devoted to this aspect of the subject. To speak of quite recent years, both the general public and the readers of Spiritualist journals are, or at least were, better acquainted with the names of Marjorie (Mrs. Crandon), of Willy and Rudi Schneider, and of Mr. William Hope of Crewe, the psychic photographer, than they are with those of Mrs. Piper or Mrs. Osborne Leonard. The production of physical phenomena is inextricably intertwined with the cause of Spiritualism, and whatever may be said to the credit of the better class of mediums for spirit communication such as the two ladies last named, it is impossible to shut one's eyes to the appalling amount of deception and imposture which has characterized the dark séances of mediums of another type. It may be that these psychics are not always consciously fraudulent. It may be that controls of a baser sort have deliberately set out to humiliate and ruin their human instrument. It may be that in some cases the sitters, expecting trickery and concentrated upon some particular manifestation of it, have themselves unintentionally brought about the result by the force of silent suggestion. But this does not help us very much. The stigma of deception and unreliability remains. Moreover, many of the most devoted and experienced representatives of the cause are by no means prepared to accept such pleas in mitigation of judgment. In November, 1880, a Spiritualist journal¹ published the following letter from a contributor.

Well, the present state of *public* Spiritualism in Eng-

¹ *Spiritual News*, November, 1880, p. 87.

land is to my mind really disgusting. On the one hand we have numerous tricking mediums assisted by tricking spirits. Exposure after exposure occurs; sometimes the whole paraphernalia of spirit show, drapery, beards and lamps, in the shape of phosphoric oil bottles, have been taken from the medium. A few weeks ago a well-known public medium was caught by his best friends. That medium confessed his guilt, apologized, etc., and not one of the organs of our movement, except yours, spoke a word about it! . . . No impartial Spiritualist will deny the truth of the facts I have pointed out.

Protests of this kind have been numerous at nearly all periods, and it is not easy to see how the evil can be met. In the absence of any efficient central authority controlling the movement, it is open to anyone to call himself a medium and to advertise his supposed qualifications if he likes to take the risk. The confidence placed in such people has a thousand times over been abused. Mr. James Whittaker, as previously mentioned, states that of the mediums he has known "seven out of every ten are fraudulent, nine out of ten are half cracked." He had in mind, no doubt, the lowest type of practitioners who impose upon the rude proletariat of our manufacturing centres. But I am not now speaking merely of such gentry, and one must also recognize that every organization, political, social or religious, has its occasional black sheep. What impresses me in the case of Spiritualism is that so many of those whose names are most discussed and whose qualifications have been most widely proclaimed, even by experienced representatives of one or other of the Spiritualist societies, come sooner or later to forfeit their good name, sometimes by detected trickery, sometimes by other deplorable forms of scandal. It is impossible to overlook the fact that the Fox sisters, whom Spiritualists honour as the founders of the movement, fell early victims, in spite of the promised protection of their discarnate guides, to habits of intemperance, and that in 1888, before a crowded meeting in New York, they denounced Spiritualism "as an absolute falsehood . . . the most wicked blasphemy known to the world." No doubt this utterance was just as worthless as the retraction which followed a few months later.¹ But the two

¹ A good deal of information, derived from previously unpublished sources, may be gathered from the book "Katie Fox" (Putnam, 1933). It is written by W. G. Langworthy Taylor, himself a believer, in a tone which is apologetic and fully sympathetic with the Fox sisters. From it we learn that Katie

sisters died in misery, and Mr. James Burns, the editor of *The Medium and Daybreak*, did not hesitate in an obituary notice to condemn their taking of money as an abuse which "has covered the cause with scandals and left a heap of festering corpses along the course of these forty-five years." Mr. W. Harrison, the editor of the rival Spiritualist newspaper, had already written in 1875:

Two American mediums of great power, who visited England some years ago, and who could get marvellous manifestations when they were held hand and foot, forged two cheques for a large amount before they left this country. . . Among the lower order of physical mediums also are some who have made desperate attempts to ruin each other by the deliberate invention and circulation of the most atrocious scandals; indeed if all that is known upon these subjects could be brought together and printed in one volume a depth of depravity would be revealed which is simply appalling.¹

I am quite willing to concede that many of the "exposures" of alleged fraudulent mediums, as recounted in such a work as Podmore's "Modern Spiritualism," rest upon inadequate evidence, but there are a number of others which cannot leave a doubt in the mind of any unprejudiced reader that imposture of a most deliberate kind had taken place. Passing over such famous incidents as the detection of the Holmeses in New York, or the confession of the spirit photographer Buguet in Paris, let me refer in particular to the case of the

had apparently acquired habits of intemperance before 1865 when she was only 26 (p. 141). We are told that in 1870 a séance was held "when Katie was dead drunk" (p. 164); in spite of which wonderful phenomena occurred. On June 2, 1870, "Katie found Maggie in a fearful state of intoxication" (p. 152). Only a few weeks before, Katie "after keeping an engagement with a fashionable family on Fifth Avenue, came back at 10 o'clock sick and crazy with brandy" (p. 154). Although it is quite likely that the denunciation of Spiritualism which was read out in a public hall of New York on October 21, 1888, by Maggie in the presence of Katie was composed for them by somebody else, there can be no dispute about a letter written by Maggie from London on May 14th, five months earlier, in the following terms: "Spiritualism is a curse. Fanatics like Mr. Luther R. Marsh, Mr. John L. O'Sullivan, ex-minister to Portugal, and hundreds equally as learned, ignore the 'rappings' (which is the only part of the phenomena that is worthy of notice) and rush madly after the glaring humbugs that flood New York. But a harmless message that is given through the 'rappings' is of little account to them. They want the spirit to come in full form, to walk before them, talk to them, embrace them! And what is the result? Like old Judge Edmonds, and Mr. Seybert of Philadelphia, they become crazed, and at the direction of fraud mediums they are induced to part with all their worldly possessions as well as their common sense." See Mr. Taylor's book just quoted, p. 109.

¹ *The Spiritualist*, June 25, 1875, p. 302.

medium William Eglinton. A name still greatly honoured in Spiritualist circles is that of Archdeacon Colley, who in the Law Courts successfully challenged Mr. Nevil Maskelyne's claim to reproduce certain specific psychic phenomena by physical means. Now Colley, when in 1878 a discussion occurred concerning fraudulent mediums, wrote to *The Medium and Daybreak* as follows :

It unfortunately fell to me to take muslin and false beard from Eglinton's portmanteau, and take him also straightway into kindly custody from a friend's house to my own, there keeping him a close prisoner from the police till night drew on and he could quietly get off by train. Some few days before this I had on two several occasions cut pieces from the drapery worn by, and clipped hair from the beard of, the other figure representing Abdullah. I have the pieces so cut off beard and muslin still. But note that when I took these things into my possession, I and a medical gentleman (25 years a Spiritualist and well known to the older members of the movement) found the pieces of muslin cut fit exactly into certain corresponding portions of the drapery thus taken.¹

None the less, in 1890 a quarto volume expensively illustrated was published in glorification of the marvels produced under Eglinton's mediumship, especially in the years 1884—1885.² In this book scores of eminent people are named as attesting the genuineness of these manifestations. Assuming that Archdeacon Colley told the truth, one can only say that a medium who travels about with muslin and a false beard in his luggage can hardly expect to be believed if he avers that unfriendly spirits took advantage of his trance to make him fake phenomena against his will. The curious point is that

¹ *The Medium and Daybreak*, November 15, 1878, p. 730.

² It was called "Twixt Two Worlds" and was compiled by J. S. Farmer. It has for frontispiece an admirable portrait of Eglinton etched by the famous artist J. J. Tissot who was seemingly an admirer of the medium. A long list is given in this book of the famous personages who were present at Eglinton's sésances. Amongst the number was Mr. Gladstone. This was in 1884 when Gladstone was Prime Minister. According to Eglinton's biographer, the news having got out was commented upon "by nearly every paper throughout the world," and Mr. Gladstone "was deluged with letters of inquiry." A post card from his private secretary sent in answer to one such questioner was printed in *The Daily News*. "Sir—I am directed by Mr. Gladstone to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday and to say that while he cannot undertake to enter into details, he has expressed no conclusion upon the subject to which you refer." Mr. Eglinton had let it be understood through the columns of *Light* that Mr. Gladstone had been satisfied by what he had seen and heard.

Archdeacon Colley himself had written to the same journal a year earlier to bear enthusiastic testimony to the materialization of "Dr. Monck." Yet Monck was convicted of fraud in an English Court of Law upon the evidence of certain Spiritualists who deposed to finding in his trunk muslin, stuffed gloves, wires and other compromising paraphernalia of the same unspiritual order.

The striking point in the case of Eglinton, Monck and a number of other suspected mediums is the championship they inspire in well-meaning observers who have witnessed their marvels and have not themselves detected fraud. A remarkable instance will be still fresh in the memory of most readers. Miss Hilda Lewis, who attracted wide attention under the name of "the Flower Medium," seems to have held her first séances under the unexceptionable auspices of Mrs. Travers Smith (Hester Dowden) and Mrs. Philip de Crespigny. I speak of both ladies with entire respect; I have met them both personally. There can be no question of their good faith, and their names are widely known in connexion with many psychic phenomena. In particular Mrs. de Crespigny, who was the more directly responsible, was acting at the time as Hon. Principal of the British College of Psychic Science. Now everything suggests that Miss Lewis was simply a clever impostor. There is not a scrap of evidence to show that she possessed any psychic gift at all, but she was acclaimed in the Spiritualist journals as a medium with wonderful powers. For several months she held séances attended by eminent and experienced researchers who allowed their names to be published in a way which certainly did not suggest dissent. For example, Dr. Nandor Fodor, writing in *Light* (November 29, 1934), describes a sitting with Miss Lewis as "the most amazing demonstration I have so far had the privilege to see."¹ Not a word in his account points to the least misgiving. But evidence which had accumulated from many different sources led in the end to convincing detection. Miss Lewis signed an explicit confession of fraud. But even after this and after Mrs. Barbara McKenzie's exhaustive statement in *Light*, the medium still found supporters, as the correspondence columns of the Spiritualist newspapers clearly show.

It is needless to enlarge upon the fruitful theme of fraudu-

¹ Dr. Nandor Fodor was then Research Officer of the International Institute for Psychical Research. He is also the compiler of the "Encyclopedia of Psychic Science."

lent mediumship or to make more than a bare mention of the controversies which in recent years have centred round the names of Mrs. Duncan, Mr. Hope of Crewe, John Myers and the American Valiantine. I only note that these all have their ardent Spiritualist defenders and apologists, in spite of evidence of trickery, at least on some occasions, which seems to me conclusive. Can it be a healthy thing that the sources of inspiration should be thus contaminated, or even be subject to suspicion of gross imposture?

Again, among the other disconcerting features which have awakened distrust almost from the beginning of the movement, must be reckoned the predominance of outlandish controls. Why should Red Indians, and Mohammedans, not to speak of Egyptians and Chaldeans who profess to have lived thousands of years ago, take such particular interest in the modern denizens of civilized lands? It will be sufficient to quote two brief specimens of the letters on this subject which one finds appearing from time to time in Spiritualist journals. A correspondent in *Light* (October 11, 1890) remarks:

He [the medium Emerson] was soon entranced and his control, like those of nearly all the mediums I met, was an Indian. They seem to control that line of business as well as the mediums. A truth told by an Indian is as valuable as the same told by a white man, but why it is that Indian spirits come to give white men communications so much oftener than our white brothers do, is beyond my explanation.

Or again in *Psychic News* (January 26, 1935), we read this protest:

I do not object to Red Indian spirits speaking to us, but that they should monopolize our platforms as they are beginning to do, assuming the role of our spiritual mentors, is intolerable. . . . One can understand people questioning whether this is Spiritualism or Red Indianism.

So too there is the question of the surroundings of the séance room. Mr. G. K. Chesterton had surely some excuse for his gibe when he wrote that "he did not expect to hear the voice of God calling to him from a coal cellar." The gramophone records or the discordant attempts at hymn singing employed "to stimulate vibrations," the prevalence of darkness,

the writhing and contortions of the medium going into trance or recovering from it, the sort of magic circle formed in some cases by the sitters joining hands, or again in other circumstances the squeaks and chuckles of, say Feda, or, as an alternative, the rather coarse pleasantries of Mrs. Crandon's brother Walter, all these are things which it is very hard to reconcile with the idea of an uplifting influence through which man, according to the more enthusiastic devotees of the cult, is to receive "a new vision and a new understanding." What is perhaps most surprising of all, these altruistic Red Indian controls, with the Lady Nona from Egypt, and the seer Pheneas from Chaldea, apparently remained for hundreds and hundreds of years impotent to execute their benevolent projects until two little girls in the middle of the last century showed them the way to open communications by rapping on a board. Surely it was not mediumistic power that was lacking throughout these ages, for no sooner were the doings of the Fox sisters noised abroad than mediums sprang up like mushrooms in every town throughout the Eastern States. An English visitor and believer, Mr. H. Spicer, averred in 1852 that they already numbered 30,000. What miracle of grace had suddenly brought about this superabundant diffusion of the psychic temperament?

One other feature of current Spiritualism which seems to me definitely unwholesome is the practice of many mediums who in private consultations purport to disclose on occasion hidden scandals of the past or to reveal the "incalculable secrets of the future." That most of the people who have recourse to this form of oracular guidance have any title to be accounted Spiritualists is, no doubt, an illusion, though the mediums themselves, together with palmists and astrologers, advertise largely in Spiritualist journals. In the case of the vast majority of those who consult such practitioners, their communications with the spirit world begin and end with a few casual visits to the medium. The experiment is made as a form of mild excitement, with no serious purpose behind it. But there are a few who go in a different spirit, and this was especially likely to happen during the War when the practice became very general and resulted in the publication of Sir Oliver Lodge's "Raymond" and many similar books. It is easy to imagine the case of an agonized parent, or wife, or sweetheart, rendered desperate by the absence of all news, or apprehensive of some peril yet undisclosed, who can find no

relief in religion or in the counsel of friends. She accordingly decides to consult a medium, not because she is a believer in occult powers, but because her fever of impatience will not allow her to remain inactive, and this seems the only thing she can do. Now it is quite likely that if she goes to a good medium, he will tell her a number of things which will make a great impression. He will very possibly recall incidents in her own past life, or describe her surroundings, or the people she is in contact with, giving information which he could not conceivably have acquired by any normal means. I am not prepared to explain how that information comes to him. It may largely be due to telepathy, *i.e.*, he may be able to read a great deal which is latent in her subliminal consciousness. But I am also ready to admit that telepathy will not account for everything; there is much in psychometry and similar psychic gifts which we do not understand. However that may be, the anxious inquirer can hardly fail to think the experience wonderful, and if this were all, the mischief would not be serious. But it constantly happens that along with verifiable facts of the past, a number of quite unverifiable contingencies in the future are also introduced in the course of the sitting, and the trouble begins there.

Take such a case as this. It may be that an inquirer consulting a medium has no particular cause to love her husband, but that she is deeply interested in some other male acquaintance. Much of this is perceptible to the medium, and consciously or unconsciously, he plays up to it. He senses that in telling her that her husband will not return from the Front, he is not communicating unwelcome news. He has every motive for wishing to please his client and sees no reason for being reticent. We need not every time impute dishonesty or malice to the medium. He is, for the most part, so far as I can make out, controlled by impulses of which he himself can give no adequate account. It comes to him to say a thing and he says it. The consequences may be for good or evil; but to my thinking such supposed revelations of the future are apt to do an enormous amount of harm.

Let us suppose this particular case of a wife who has ceased to love her husband, but is much attracted to another man who pays court to her. Up to the present, religion or a sense of duty to her children has kept her faithful to her marriage vows. She has never betrayed her real feelings. But now the same mysterious power which has manifested such in-

timate knowledge of her past assures her that she will soon be a free woman again. The announcement cannot fail to absorb her thoughts and energies, and in my view it can hardly be otherwise than supremely mischievous. Without rejecting entirely the possibility of precognition on the part of psychics,¹ well-authenticated cases are not only very rare, but even in the best examples all that concerns the *time* of fulfilment is quite uncertain. Nevertheless, the recipient of such communications, though realizing the uncertainty of verification, is greatly tempted to take a risk. Neither does this apply only to matters in which the more violent emotions are aroused; cases are on record of people who have lost their fortunes by putting faith in the predictions made to them through mediumistic channels. Obviously if exact foreknowledge of political developments, of the movements of the Stock Exchange, or even of the winner of the Derby, could be obtained by going to a medium, this earth of ours could not run for twelve months on its present lines.

What is beyond dispute is the torturing perplexity of mind which these intimations purporting to come from another world are apt to leave behind them. Some little time ago I received a letter from a young man quite unknown to me who was engaged to be married. He asked my advice in a difficulty which had arisen concerning himself and his fiancée. This young lady's mother, he reported, had been sitting in the park when another woman near her, an absolute stranger, came across and said she must speak to her. "It is not I who am speaking," she averred, "but someone from the beyond." She then proceeded to make a number of quite correct statements about intimate details of the home life, the children, etc., of the lady she was addressing and declared that the marriage for which her daughter was preparing would never take place. Something would be said by the prospective bridegroom which would make his fiancée break off the engagement.

I have no reason to doubt that my correspondent's statement was accurate, though of course the girl's mother may have given an overdrawn account of the interview in the park.

¹ A remarkably convincing case of precognition by a medium (Mme. Peyrouet) was described by Dr. Osty in the *Revue Métapsychique*. It is concerned with the death in an aeroplane accident of the celebrated psychical researcher Dr. Gustave Geley. The details are conveniently accessible in Prof. Bozzano's recently-translated work "Discarnate Influence in Human Life," pp. 204—209. 1938.

But one may ask, in any case, is the Spiritualism which prompts such intervention in mundane affairs a healthy thing?

I have previously dealt elsewhere with the alarmist prognostics cited in Mr. H. Dennis Bradley's widely read books "Towards the Stars" and "The Wisdom of the Gods." His trusted controls announced devastating wars, floods and earthquakes in England which would "make people's hair stand on end."¹ These calamities, proclaimed to the world in 1924, were to come to pass in the course of a year or two, but we are now in 1938 and nothing of the sort has happened. Moreover, we have a good many instances occurring from time to time of scandals said to be divulged by discarnate spirits who profess to want to rectify abuses or vindicate the truth. All this, it seems to me, can only lead to an increase of suspicion and distrust among the living. As I ventured to remark in the little book just referred to: "if those who have passed over take the course of ventilating their grievances to their earth friends and of paying off old scores by revealing hidden scandals, the atmosphere of harmony, which it is difficult enough to preserve at present, will certainly not be enhanced. . . The prospect of a world, flooded with what may be called backstairs gossip, to which vital importance is attached because each recipient believes that it has come to him from on high in such a wonderful way is not an attractive one."

In a previous article of this series I referred to the case of Judge Dahl. It is certain that his mediumistic daughter Ingeborg (Fru Köber) announced that she had received a communication from the spirit world which foretold that her father would die before a certain date, and this prophecy was in fact verified. But the whole matter was complicated by a tangle of pecuniary difficulties and defalcations too intricate to be detailed here, and it is by no means certain that the prediction did not reach the Judge's ears and work its own fulfilment. All that we know is that Judge Dahl was drowned under mysterious circumstances while bathing with his daughter, who it is said, had passed into a trance. There have been not a few unpleasant incidents of a similar nature with which Spiritualism seems to be connected.

HERBERT THURSTON.

¹ See "Modern Spiritualism," pp. 54-60. London: Sheed & Ward. Price, 1s.

CATHOLICS IN ENGLAND TO-DAY

WHENEVER we have been out of England, we have found our fellow-Catholics intensely interested in this country, and often victims of many misapprehensions (usually in the optimist direction) or again of much unawareness (usually in the direction of there being anything Catholic in England to be optimistic about). Indeed, once when we were in Stockholm, the day after a journalistic interview, we found the city placarded with words to this effect: "Visitor says there are Convents in England." Apart from all other considerations, it seems then very much our duty to write articles in foreign magazines and not least, maybe, in Italian ones, such as the *Illustrazione Vaticana*, which is very hospitable to such articles.

Probably it is useful to begin with statistics, but in this article there will be none: firstly, because none are accessible to us where we are; secondly, because they are seldom reliable; thirdly, because when people ask you, as they always do: "How many converts do you have annually in England?", it might be possible to answer: "Roughly 12,000," but then, you would feel you ought to off-set this by quoting "leakage" statistics; and then, you would recall that numbers tell you nothing about *quality*. You would want to know how many conversions were matters of profound conviction; whether most converts persevered; whether their new Faith was chiefly extensive (*i.e.*, an accurate knowledge of what the Church believes and teaches) or also intensive (*i.e.*, coupled with a strong desire to apply their Christian knowledge of right and wrong to all parts of life, personal and also social). And similarly you would desire to describe the various qualities of "leakage"—whether you referred to the multitudes who ceased automatically to go to the Sacraments or Mass the moment they left school: or who knew vaguely that they were Catholics but were exteriorly indistinguishable from anyone else, so that the fact that they were Catholics made no difference to, or in, England; or to those whose apostasy was a reasoned and convinced affair.

Still less do statistics tell us of that vaporous, permeating

fact—Influence to this side and that.¹ We really want to find out just what is so difficult—whether to any extent Catholics are influencing British public opinion and whether they are influenced by non-Catholic public opinion.

This can hardly be judged by the undoubted fact that our churches or mission-stations increase all the time in number. Nor do they fall into the category of "empty churches." "Why are our churches empty?" Our only answer to that is: "Ours aren't." Two facts must be recalled. The enormous outspread of suburbs does not mean an increase of population, but its wider distribution. So the same number of Catholics demands a greater number of churches. Again, we are ever more painfully realizing the vast number of country-Catholics out of reach of church or Sacraments or school. We heard of a midland Irish immigrant who, because of such conditions (involving mixed marriages) ended by having *seventy-two* grandchildren, none of them Catholics. Again and again we hear of Mass beginning to be said in a room . . . a barn . . . and *at once* a score of Catholics turn up.² Week by week, this appalling problem of the desolate country-side and its apostolate is noticed in our papers. It remains very difficult to discover how many Catholics exist in England, and how many, given their parentage, ought to be Catholic, and how many are likely to lapse.

We ask first, then, whether we are much influenced by what is not Catholic. We leave behind that problem of isolation, hoping for the best because we know that, in *e.g.*, Japan, Catholic families have retained a kind of skeleton-Faith though no priest could reach them. (This implies a family-

¹ We used to read that in the Catholic cantons of Switzerland the rate of suicide was very low; in Protestant cantons, high. This would be normal and not astonishing. Thus in the days just after the Hungarian revolution, the chief of police in Budapest told us that suicides were negligible among Catholics; much more frequent among Calvinists; very frequent among Jews. But our point is, that we used to read that where Swiss Catholics predominated, the suicide-rate among Protestants sank, and vice versa. A kind of capillary attraction.

² Catholics are often shy. We used to visit a military hospital in which 12 officers told us they were the only Catholics there, "so far as they knew." Accustomed to this, we tried an experiment. We said nothing to any of them, but offered Mass there. They all came to Holy Communion, astounded to discover that they were all Catholics. At the other extreme, recently a friend of ours was hiking in the country. A lady asked him if he could find a taxi to take her to the station. He could not; but a man with a car offered her (and him) a lift. They talked. On the way they discovered not only that they were all Catholics, but that the marriage of each of them had been blessed by ourselves. Fact!

education which is being made ever more difficult for us.) But we ask, are we Catholics "*influenced*"? By other religious "*denominations*"? We think, No, save quite sporadically. The Anglican Church influences, we think, only a few converts who cannot but regret what once they prized—a stately Liturgy they actively shared in: the Bible which (maybe) they used to read daily and studied closely; its rhythms had made musical half their memories; in their more sentimental moments, hymns and hymn-tunes; Sunday evening chimes; and, more deeply, that special kind of reticent piety, "goodness," absolute loyalty to the natural virtues for supernatural reasons as well as because of education and instinct which characterize even now the more sober Anglicanism. But, first, we think that that sort of Anglican religion is dying out in younger generations, and indeed belongs rather to Evangelicalism than to Anglo-Catholicism; and again, it belonged chiefly to the leisured classes (Nonconformist religion was different, and proper to a secondary though much wider social layer). Catholics are not influenced by Non-Conformity as such (is anyone?): but you will find a few who are touched by Theosophy (because it offers them a "mysticism" which they need, but of which they may seldom receive even the true version in the sermons they hear—though they would find it if they read the proper books) or by the Group Movement, because it suggests to them a whole-hearted Christian morality whereas they think that too often they are *recommended* that minimum of right behaviour which is *enjoined* under pain of committing mortal sin. We agree that more must not be demanded from the harassed soul than what is commanded: but we have certainly heard many a sermon which recommended a virtue that the Stoics could equally well have preached: perhaps we would be wise more often at least, to set forth the Christian Heroic. But on the whole we think that the influence of non-Catholic religions upon Catholics is, in England, altogether negligible.

Does Communism, involving atheism, influence us much? I think it does, so far as two "classes" of our population go, and in two different ways. The first class consists of what we have before now called our "uneducated intelligentsia" especially in certain universities, where there is always a considerable majority of those who are not intellectually interested in anything, and these are more liable to "rag" the Reds than to argue with them: but where there is, too, a

considerable number of young men and women who, largely because they *are* young and have not yet to earn their own living, like to be revolutionary and to smash and to shock. They may also be very sincere in their desire to ameliorate conditions, and so, to assume that everything in the past was bad (and they have too many excuses). Young Catholics, then, if they are themselves alert and enthusiastic, *unless* they meet with great sympathy, patience, insight and genuine training among older Catholics, clerical and lay, will go off, untrained, to where they meet an enthusiasm which is at once infectious and subversive. All the more need for forming and using those study-clubs which are somehow combined with some active social work, especially in those university centres to which the Pope consecrates one whole division of "Catholic Action."

Communism, so far as it affects our working-classes irreligiously, does so perhaps more because of its association of "Church" with Capitalism than by way of actual attacks upon God, though these are more frequent than we might suppose; and its effect is the more powerful because of its tremendous propaganda, comparable with which we have practically nothing. Would that we had a hundred Arnold Lunns, well-informed, courageous, quick in reply, logical, terse and versatile! Our poorer Catholics, therefore, hear too often only one side of a case. If I remember rightly, Belgian students left practically no village of their country uninformed (using lantern-lectures) about the Mexican persecution. We did next to nothing about that. We gave practically no help to our poorer Catholics when the Pope was calumniated about Abyssinia. Slowly, very slowly, we are informing public opinion about Spain. We have popular missionaries who preach dogma simply: but although this is indeed of supreme importance, the mass of our fellow-Catholics hear it all the time, but they hear also what seems to them actual, concrete, exciting, terrible, and to the shame of the Catholic Church. After all, men are moved by actualities, and Fascism or anti-Fascism thrill the crowds now in the way in which Arianism once did. It is wise to begin from where men are, and not from where they aren't. Meanwhile, everything of actual interest is apt to reach our Catholics through non-Catholic channels; so we are the more glad that our Catholic papers cater for such different publics, and pray that *The Catholic Worker* may in

every way be perfected and spread abroad.¹ As it is, Sunday becomes a horrible day to me, if I reflect upon the thousands absorbing our popular Sunday Press, a disgrace to any civilization, and enough to rot any intelligence.

This has already overlapped into the second part of our article, which asks the question whether we are, for our part, influencing our fellow-countrymen? We wish to be neither doleful, nor complacent. On the whole, we think we are influencing them, in perhaps unexpected ways; and that in all the ways that might have been expected, we are not. The speech of Mr. Kennedy, U.S. Ambassador, at Aberdeen, said bravely to a limitless public what we say timorously or unconvincingly to our restricted one. (Forgive a parenthesis. *Contact* is perhaps our chief difficulty. We can easily talk to one another; some people find it pleasant to speak where no one will contradict them. Hence pulpits. How often have we wished, during a sermon, that someone would stand up and contradict us! Not that that would be suitable. Therefore, once more, let us have the lecture platform, the parlour, or the bar. But, can clerics haunt bars? No. Therefore, again, competent lay-talkers. Yet again, let us *trust* audiences! We were once asked to speak on "Christ and Poverty" to an audience reputed communist. A number of young local Catholics were drafted in lest there should be a "rough house." But was there? No. Certainly, some tough questions, *e.g.*, "Why, when a priest becomes higher and higher, is he grander and grander?" Again, a Baptist congregation asked us to describe the Roman Catholic Point of View. We did so. Once more, a number of neighbouring Catholic youths arrived "to look after you" (we did not know any of this beforehand). Surprise was registered that we should have talked "in a Baptist chapel." We didn't—it was a hall annexed to Bunyan's old chapel. But why shouldn't we have done so if we'd wanted or been asked to? No one in his senses could have called a speech in a chapel a "*communicatio in sacris*." Anyway, when Sydney cathedral was "opened," the Baptist Premier of New South Wales mounted the pulpit and made the best talk of any of us. What do we really want? To let people *know*. Very well. If they don't like to come to us, we must go to them. And Christ did say:

¹ We might usefully collect and study the increasing number of books written by disillusioned Communists who have visited Russia: *e.g.*, "The Communist International," by Franz Borkenau, Faber & Faber: and the very ample "Assignment in Utopia," by Eugene Lyons, Harrap.

"Go—teach all nations." So St. Paul didn't sit still, waiting for them to "come," but he "went"—first into the Athenian market-place (where there was too much noise), and then to the Areopagus, a lawyers' court, no doubt; but chiefly a very "sacred" place. Anyhow he *went*. He achieved *contact*. And if 90 per cent of modern propaganda takes place at night, well, there has to be a "Nocturnal Apostolate" whether or no the apostle has to get up at 6 a.m. next day.)

Do we, then, influence the Country? In Parliament, no. On and off, Catholics speak well in the Commons: more rarely, with notable exceptions, in the Lords: collectively, with both knowledge and conviction, in neither place, especially not in the Lords. Another parenthesis. Leaving aside an ignoble motive, like "keeping one's seat at all costs"—which doesn't apply to the Higher House—the idea that we don't take our politics from priests, especially if their "culture" is lower than our own, is prevalent and operative. We have to be fair. Most of those who go to seminaries have not had a wider culture. Seminaries are not places which profess to provide a "wide" culture, but intend to provide a "professional" education. Not but what Ushaw, Upholland, Oscott, St. Edmund's, Ware, Womersley, are so beautiful, fascinating historically, and well-equipped that they have all the *material* for a "general" culture. It remains that the wider a priest's culture is, the better. With more, and more "influential" men can he come into sympathetic contact. Still, looking through the list of Catholic Peers, the more obvious it is that as a category, they play no part proportionate to their position. On the whole, Catholics in Parliament, save now and again, do not influence our Government, and certainly not our Nation.

We brusquely ask—What of our Royalty? This is awkward to inquire, especially as none of our immediate Royalty is Catholic. But is it equally easy for our Royalty to "open" a Catholic enterprise (even if it be "undenominational," like those hospitals of ours which *of course* admit patients of any "denomination" or of none) as a Y.M.C.A. or any such other group? No; by no means. Now why not? Owing, I suppose, only to the vague view that what is Roman Catholic is not English, imposed on Royalty not because they want it so to be imposed, nor because it corresponds to anything real, but because it corresponds to a perfectly false, but traditional, view of both Country and Empire. In many ways, not only

technical, but also sentimental, it is at present impossible for our Royalty to act equitably towards Catholics.

Does our Press "influence" England? It is obvious that it is improving by leaps and bounds. *The Tablet* is now what could be put on to any club table without fear. We think that it is as good as anything anywhere (e.g., *The Spectator*—and in fact, far better than that, in the sense that it is as well-informed and better balanced). The rest of our Press is becoming more able to provide what its set of readers not only want but need. All the same, what fraction of one-hundredth per cent among non-Catholics read our Press? It would be interesting to know who precisely reads (let alone buys) *THE MONTH*. Yet it (like other magazines, e.g., *The Dublin, Blackfriars, The Downside Review*) so often contains articles so first-class both in criticism and construction that we have often wished it would re-publish a selection of these, perhaps as an annual. It saddens us to reflect how much admirable material is engulfed in remote editions of the *Etudes*, the *Stimmen*, the *Civiltà*, none of it exercising that *enduring* influence of which it might be capable.

All the same, we can hope that we are exercising a certain influence in one direction. Thus. The mass of Englishmen do not like chaos (it is hard to make anyone even believe that "anarchists" exist and were powerful in Spain, or that they meant what they said, i.e., that there ought to be *no* law): nor do they like what they know of Communism, at least as applied (for they are noticing that economic Communism has long ago collapsed in Russia, which is a collection of countries as full of coercion and inequality as any other land): nor do they like Fascism or Nazi-ism or any theory which appears to subordinate the individual wholly to the State, or to the fiction of "race," or in any other way does not give each man his full chance. But neither are they satisfied with the condition of England itself—who *could* be? They are therefore on the anxious look-out for *an* Authority, and often, are ready to admit that it should exercise a certain control even over mind and morals.¹ They are, moreover, increas-

¹ It was certainly surprising to find Mr. Middleton Murry writing: "to-day, when mankind's need of a universal spiritual authority invested with compulsive power is desperate"—and not unamusing to observe how indignant this makes at least one of his reviewers. "Are we not all beginning to see that the very phrase 'spiritual authority' involves a contradiction in terms? 'The wind bloweth where it listeth, and ye cannot tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth. So is every one that is born of the Spirit.'" But, the whole point of Christ's discourse is the vehement contrast between "ye" and "I." He *can* tell, and does; that is the very purpose of His coming.

ingly aware of the Papacy and of the Pope himself—as the spate of recent books about both suffices to prove. And they are aware that in him resides *an* Authority which is interesting if only because it claims to be universal and to reach also to the soul, and yet is different from any of those other authorities they so much dislike. They therefore ask: “In what way different?” and begin to study it. Recent events have on the whole assisted them. Probably the condemnations of the *Sillon* and of the *Action Française* are too remote to be remembered now, and were never seen in conjunction (the former was forgotten when the latter occurred): but they should have provided a vivid lesson of the Church’s detachment from particular forms or theories of Government. But to-day the Pope, who used to be declared the tool or victim of Fascism, is so manifestly hostile to that element in Nazism which puts race or even nationalism supreme, while others than Germans are giving hostages to that very theory and are, despite denials, imitating its application, that more and more men are asking just what that positive thing is in which the Church believes, which underlies all those “changes in policy” on the part of the Holy See. They cannot believe that the Holy See is self-contradictory; therefore, as perhaps never before, are they anxious to discover what are its principles. Hence it becomes very much our duty to bring these out into the light whenever we can, and to avoid like the pest whatever obscures the nature of Roman “authority,” which is exactly what a recent quarrel about a book has done.¹

Since we wrote the above, an address of the Reverend N. V. Gorton at the Modern Churchmen’s Conference has been brought to our notice. At the back of the modern Boys’ mind, he insists, there is one fundamental and final dogma of their own, that to be a Christian does not necessarily imply anything to do with the Church. “Directly you begin to talk to the boy about the Church, his moral ears fly back with innate incredulity.” He adds that these boys will not criticize Christianity but will always criticize the Church. The solution he

¹ The Holy Father himself was once good enough to remind us that he made “nuances” in what he wrote. We had said that these were often lost in English translations even of his encyclicals. Every Roman document contains such shades of meaning, which are often not attended to by translators. Thus “condemnation” at least can be far too strong a word by which to translate the seemingly equivalent Italian: and *riparazione* can hardly be translated “reparation,” which implies that a grave deliberate fault has been committed. Even “reconstruction” would be too strong: “emendation” would probably suffice.

offers is the bringing "of the altar back to the people, saved from choirs and the English Cathedral school of organists, from decorous modern churchmen, or public school chaplains, from archaisms, dim lights and medieval pageant." We do not know what boys of expensive schools think about the Church of England, but, as we said, it is the "Church" as a capitalist organization and not Christ, that one hears abused among the working-classes. The middle-class "intelligentsia" does, too, rebuke it, because that is part of the formula. But among the many silly things that Mr. Gorton is quoted as saying, one sentence has substantial value: "What we want is the altar back to the people." To get it back, you have apparently to save it from "choirs" (with which we are far from disagreeing), "dim lights" (but we well remember, in our Protestant school days, wondering why the dickens they needed to turn up all that gas. . . Couldn't one have an hour of peace and quiet to oneself?). And "medieval pageant." To Mr. Gorton himself we have nothing to say here. But we repeat our conviction that while our youth appreciates the immemorial ritual and dignity of Mass as much as ever, it does want to share in it actively, and to "hear" Mass too often implies a listening to what someone else is saying, instead of joining in a social act, which the Mass essentially is.

In another department I think that the firmness and clarity of the Catholic moral doctrine is exercising an influence. Before and after the War, there was a general liquefaction of morals, described with bitter irony in, for example, the novels of Mr. Evelyn Waugh, which must have reached their aim more accurately and piercingly than many a denunciatory sermon. Anyhow, it has often seemed to us that the "younger young" generation is, in great measure, disgusted with that looseness, and would welcome an ethical code, despite its austerity or even because of it, if they had reason for trusting its validity. And they are ready for self-sacrifice provided they have an ideal worthy of sacrifice. Thus Communism has often inspired really heroic activity (like that of quite young men and women, working hard all day and deserving their sleep, who get up an hour earlier than they need to distribute cyclostyled pamphlets or broadsheets), because they have the sense of a crusade and really do want to further it. There are, we think, signs that encourage us among our own younger generation. Thus I doubt if before the War we had amongst

us a movement like the Young Christian Workers of Wigan, or again of Haverstock Hill. When we used to give retreats at Birmingham, we recall no signs that young laymen there would inaugurate a men's night shelter such as they now have done, nor yet run a combined camp for Catholic club-boys as they have recently done with the maximum of discomfort and enjoyment, to judge by the dossier kindly sent to me. It is noticeable that these and other such enterprises are indeed pervaded with religion and warmed by piety, but they are all very active; they look outwards and seek to do more than save one's private soul: a correspondent writes of the Young Christian Workers (whose second annual congress has begun in London on the very day when we are writing this) that "it is quite evident that [they] are making their fellow-workers think. They are conscious always of their ultimate aim: *a new world through a new youth*." The members of the League of Christ the King do not, I think, dedicate themselves to any particular task: but they aim, certainly, at that *intensification* of their Catholic life in the world which precludes the possibility of lay-life being merely technically Catholic, as we had often feared was that of too many young men who had been to our most expensive schools. It is more than probable that such groups will develop the habit of taking active corporate part in the Liturgy, and this too cannot but have an influence upon the non-Catholic visitor to our churches who at present is half the time bewildered. Sermons too will suit themselves to the new kind of listeners, and the Press to its new readers, and in short, if we foresee a greater need of apostolic men than ever, we trust that we can foresee also the well-inspired, well-formed supply.

C. C. MARTINDALE.

EDITORIAL NOTE

All contributions submitted to the Editor must be typed and be accompanied by a sufficiently large stamped addressed envelope—stamps (or Post Office coupons from abroad) alone will not suffice. Articles so submitted should be concerned with matters of general interest, and be the fruit of expert knowledge or original research. They should not ordinarily exceed 3,500 words, and must be intended for exclusive publication in the "Month," if accepted. As a general rule, subjects dealing with the exposition of theology and ethics are reserved to the staff.

"THERE WAS CECILIA . . ."

"The early Christians did not spend all their time being thrown to the lions."—*A famous preacher.*

THE heat in the narrow room was unbearably oppressive. Marcus rose and went with unconsciously dragging footsteps over to the window, and stood there for a moment inhaling the scarcely fresher outer air. His mind swung back to the last week-end, when he had stayed in a country villa with the patrician, Serenus, his kinsman, and, he hoped, soon to be his catechumen. There he had walked on tiled floors, as cool as lily-leaves beneath his feet. There the night had breathed aromatic airs across his sleep; the dry smell of pine, the faint and haunting scents of rose, verbena, and other fragrances to which now his tired memory could give no name. It was exasperating to recall those green country days so vividly, now that duty held him again in a dingy back street in Rome. Yet strive as he would, some uncontrolled rebellious element in himself remained defiantly patrician; unquenchably eager to enjoy the amenities which his will had resolutely discarded.

"The spirit is willing," he told himself a little ironically, "but the flesh is weak!" Even as the words came tranquillizingly across his thoughts, the sound of a door pushed open gratefully made him knit his brows. "That must be Fabian. It's later than I thought."

He turned expectantly, bracing himself with that half-impatient swing of his shoulders, as if the Captain's cloak still hung there impedingly. It had not hung there for seven years—it would never hang there again. One cannot belong to the Imperial Guard and find it possible to ignore the insatiable appetite of idols for incense. Incidentally, one does not leave the Imperial Guard to become a Christian and a priest without having cause to reflect on the still keener appetite of lions in the arena. Marcus, who had the doubtful blessing of a keen imagination, frequently considered this point in restless, fever-ridden nights.

Fabian had entered and was shedding his parcels on the table, janglingly as he did most things. Marcus repressed a frown. The poor fellow was evidently tired out; his always

sallow skin had that dingy greyness of fatigue which made his homely features look almost sinisterly ugly.

"Hot!" said Fabian, who never failed to stress the obvious. "And it's even hotter outside."

"So I observed." The older man checked himself sharply. "Well, how did you get on, Brother? Did you find Marcella at home?"

"Oh, she was in all right. But you know how these people keep you hanging about, and waste hours on their intellectual difficulties. I always say that we would get a quicker response if we were selling amulets!—certainly the slaves would be more attentive!"

"But does one worry about the slaves?" Again that old attitude of mind stirred irrepressibly. "After all, being snubbed and thought nothing of is part of our inheritance—isn't it?" The rebuke was to his own pride, but Fabian darkened.

"Well, Brother, I quite agree that one ought to welcome every humiliation. But does one? Did you like it when that flashy little Publius had you kicked out of his house?"

"I disliked it very much indeed," Marcus said wryly. "Come along, Fabian—it's time you had a meal and a rest. You're not to do anything more to-night. Get to bed early."

"No chance of that," Fabian said morosely. "I must look in at Quintus's place, if only for a few minutes. He's laid up, they tell me."

"Ill?"

"He wrenched his ankle again at the sports. But if we don't inquire you know how it will be. The priests are all for the rich; no time for the wretched plebeians. Off at once to call on Cecilia, if she has a headache, or to inquire if Valerian has a cold!"

"Surely no one could be jealous of Cecilia!" Marcus protested. "They all love her—would die for her if it were necessary."

"They would." Fabian had loosed his sandals and frankly kicked them off. An unpleasing habit. "They'd die for you too, Brother, but dying isn't the trouble at the moment. It's living—every day, dull, difficult life! I'm not sure that the teeth of a lion are so unbearable as these days, quiet if you like, but breaking us all down with the endless precautions. And all these petty squabbles—if persecution came—"

He stopped, and stared at the window, his eyes suddenly

wide and blank. Marcus had been listening incredulously. Accustomed as he was to Fabian's platitudes (if one ever became accustomed), he was unready for words so vehement, and so close to his own secret dread.

Were the Christians as fundamentally united as he hoped? The trifling animosities, the feuds which came from such slight causes and strengthened so alarmingly, how insidiously were they undermining the love of the brotherhood? How would Lucius react if asked to die for Christ at the side of Quintus?—there was still a marked coldness between them since that unfortunate deal over a horse. And it was common knowledge that Lucilla had counted on marrying her darling daughter to Claudius the younger, until Paula snatched him for her own orphan niece. All very awkward, and certainly not conducive to the unity of heart and soul which he incessantly urged upon them. He drew his hand across his eyes. Better not to look too far ahead. Better to dwell upon the counsels of his bishop, Clement, whose gentle eyes saw the best in every soul. Had not Clement reminded him that the future was known and encompassed by the pitiful love of Christ? and were not the Christians—dear, exasperating, wayward, and yet pathetically loyal—most safely confided to their Master?

Fabian had begun to open his parcels; a loaf of bread, a portion of rather squashed figs; a cheese, sticky and shedding gluey tears. Poor Fabian; he at least had no cause for self-reproach over his luxurious tastes. They seated themselves and ate in silence. The light was waning, and the shadows made a sombre tapestry on the discoloured wall. Marcus thought suddenly of the catacombs—rat-holes, he had heard one of the Christians call them—but their remoteness never failed to heal his spirit. He liked the tranquil neighbourhood of the dead; the sense of being among those who had escaped into security made the daily menace of death seem more truly a promise and a hope. Truly, in the sense that his emotions accepted, there, what his faith never failed to cling to at all moments. But what we believe and what we feel are often singularly at variance. And the truth was that Marcus, a man in his prime, had a vigorous affection for life, and a natural desire to live as many active years as God would allow him.

"You'd better not go out to-morrow," Fabian said suddenly.

"Why? I'm rid of the ague now."

"It's not the ague. It's the Emperor." Fabian stopped impressively as he never failed to do when he had something disagreeable to impart. "His divinity has suddenly thought it would be nice to get in touch with all the retired officers of the Imperial Guard. And there'll be a splendid banquet for you—quails, and so forth. With a little treat of incense for the idols thrown in."

"I wish that incense had never been thought of!" said Marcus feelingly. "And by the way don't let any of the faithful hear you calling the Emperor 'his divinity.' They might think that you mean it seriously."

"Bah!" said Fabian expressively. "But I suppose you're right. Some of them are ready to believe anything of me. Luckily, I don't mind—I'm not working for applause."

He stopped and looked piously at the ceiling. Absolutely sincere, he was also absolutely incapable of realizing how he exasperated other people. Especially his own flock, whom he served with untiring devotion, and wearied almost beyond endurance.

The last fig had been eaten, and the bread-crumbs swept by Fabian's casual fist on to the sanded floor.

"A pity you did that," Marcus said, too tardily. "There's a sparrow which comes to my window every morning—these crumbs would help to keep her brood."

"Is this the time to think about sparrows?" Fabian asked with heavy politeness. "I should think, Brother, that we had enough to do with our poor, ill-fed Christians!"

"He thought of the sparrows," Marcus said quietly, and the other was silenced. Incompatible though they were, differing in every mental and emotional attitude, yet there was between them a Memory which no friction could disturb, no strain make less compelling. Fabian looked at Marcus, and there was an apology in his sudden and sweet smile.

"Don't go out to-morrow, Brother," he said. "We can't risk losing you. Let me remind you of another saying—'I will strike the shepherd and the sheep will be dispersed!'"

Marcus smiled a little bitterly.

"I could wish them a shepherd with greater stability! Yet God knows the little we can do, the great things we desire—"

"There's always Cecilia," said Fabian, as one who offered an unfailling formula of consolation.

"Thank God, yes!"

For a moment they were silent, stilled by the same thought; the recollection of that serenely lovely face, and the tranquil voice which compelled by its absolute gentleness. Cecilia never fussed, never chivvied her slaves; never even seemed disturbed by the extremely gushing sisterliness of the recently-converted Julia. Yet was it pleasant to have Julia always on her doorstep, and Julia's scarcely less effusive husband? Swaggering, odious couple, flaunting their recently-acquired wealth, and dispensing alms into the priest's hands as if they were tipping a slave! Marcus pulled himself up sharply. Let him be thankful to have lived in the same day as Cecilia!—that was already a taste of immortality.

"Don't worry about the Emperor and his banquet," he said with deliberate cheerfulness. "Sufficient unto the day—you know the rest."

It struck him as odd that to-night the words which his heart held with deepest reverence, came so readily into his speech. As a rule, save when exhorting his catechumens, he was shy of speaking of what meant more to him than all else in the world. As he pondered this he half-heard, through his thoughts, the hurry and flurry of footsteps in the narrow road outside—nervous footsteps, as of one pursued. It was but a moment before the door was knocked upon, opened, and closed behind the newcomer.

"Why—what?—" began Fabian.

The intruder, a lad in the tunic of a slave, was pale and breathless.

"Sirs—I came at once—it's terrible—"

"Sit down and get your breath back." Marcus recognized the fear in the boy's face. "Now tell me what has happened."

"They've taken Cecilia. They're at her home now. I daren't wait—I should be washing the supper dishes. They mustn't find me gone. But I had to warn you."

"Oh my God!" said Fabian, and closed his eyes.

"You're quite sure this is true?" Marcus spoke with careful steadiness.

"Certain. It's all over Rome. Things have been working up all the time—it's the end now." He half groaned, a grim sound from his young lips. "Bless me before I go—and pray for us all."

"My dear son, may God be with you!" Marcus raised his hand in blessing, and the shadow of his wide sleeves swept

circlingly like dark wings upon the wall. Then the boy was gone.

"It has come, Brother," said Marcus. "And may He for whom we have lived teach us how to die."

"He will not forget that He has died for us," Fabian said simply.

They rose. One thought was in both their minds—to seek out and encourage the faithful. The sense of urgency which a crisis brings had obliterated personal fear; the courage which daily life had tempered with slow monotonous strokes now flashed brightly like a sword in their glances. Their eyes met, and they smiled.

The heat in the arena was oppressive, and the stench of drying blood disagreeably pungent in spite of the newly-scattered sand.

"These Christians give us a lot of clearing-up to do," grumbled the old and cross-grained Servius to his mate, who grunted in agreement:

"What I says is, why can't they keep their thoughts to themselves and not give no offence to nobody? What harm would it do them to give a pinch of incense to the gods, anyway?"

"Or what good?" said a sardonic-looking youth who plied his broom vigorously on the mottled sand.

"Here, young fellow, you watch your tongue, or it will trip you up! You're not a Christian, by any chance?"

"No fear!" He swept a bone to one side. "But I've a pal whose girl was in this last batch. A pretty little thing, full of fun—yet she was set on dying with the rest." He stopped and looked uncomfortably at the stray bone at his feet. "This might have been—her!"

"Or that purse-proud Julia, or her old man," Servius wheezed appreciatively at the thought. "Fancy the likes of them trotting into the arena with a gang of plebeians!"

"They were there all right," said his mate. "And that handsome chap, Marcus—you know, he was in the Emperor's bodyguard a few years ago. He was one of their priests, like the sergeant's son, Fabian. I saw Marcus kissing Fabian's feet before they came up from the cells. Funny how they all seemed to love each other—such different kind of folks as you might say."

"The Christians get all sorts," said the old man gloomily. "There was Cecilia—"

They fell silent, as if that name stirred thoughts too gentle for so grim a place, so callous an employment.

"Come on, you chaps!" The youngest workman made a sudden, nervous thrust with his broom. "It's all over for them now, anyway. Can't say I understand why they chucked their lives away—they seemed just like the rest of us. But of course they couldn't be—dying like that."

Down through the dusty avenue of centuries, men and women came to the Colosseum to gaze and to wonder; and thither came two elegant feminine tourists in the year of grace 1938.

"And they died here in *shoals*—literally, Mummie!" The younger woman stared at the empty arena as if willing it to reveal to her those innumerable ghosts. "One simply can't know all their names."

"There was Cecilia," her mother remarked, turning over the pages of her guide book. "Don't you remember I gave your aunt a copy of that statue by Maderno? I know the man charged me five lira too much for it."

"M-m-m," said her daughter absently. She was staring now at the tiered walls, and the recessed openings into the arena. "The lions came out from there, I suppose?"

"Now don't be morbid, Susie," her parent admonished her. "They wouldn't suffer as we poor moderns do, with our highly-strung nerves. It was different for them."

"Why?"

"Because they were martyrs, of course. And with all the persecutions they got used to the idea of dying. You know it was noticed how they seemed happy to die. You can't possibly imagine them as ordinary people—dying like that!"

Susie did not answer. Her eyes were still speculative as she studied the arena, so softly dappled with stray wandering grasses, and peaceful in its deep grey coverlet of dust. But underneath that dust how many truths were stilled?—how many inviolable secrets?

M. O'ROURKE.

WHAT IS PEACE?

REFLECTIONS ON A MEETING AT THE HAGUE

As we write, the eyes of the entire world are centred with sympathy and approval, though not without some misgiving, upon the British Prime Minister, as he flies to Germany's Führer. A moment before, they were focused, unwillingly enough but of stern necessity, on the stage set for them at Nuremberg. For the last two or three years every great nation has been directing its economic production and its social activity to the strengthening of armaments and means of defence against the fatal day that might come soon. In the East, the devil's work has been for some time let loose, and society seems incapable of putting an end to that misery and slaughter, complacent, almost, that it is not nearer home. World society is endeavouring to shoulder the heavy burden of providing for hosts of refugees, deprived of their birthright and thrust upon its charity, through the cruel internal policy of Russia, Germany and now of Italy.¹ The plain fact is that affairs between nations in 1938 are regulated by force, or by threat of force, which is the same thing as far as Right is concerned. The *Anschluss* was a conquest of arms despite the boast that it was bloodless. Force rules in place of Right: and force or its threat takes on such forms at times as to render a concession, otherwise just, almost impossible.

Is this a condition of human society, ordered according to the will of its Creator? Distant appears the plea of the Holy Father in 1922, that "the best guarantee of tranquillity is not a forest of bayonets, but mutual confidence and friendship."

There could be no more peaceful spot than the Hague in summer where a small international Catholic gathering met this year to discuss the meaning of, and the means to, peace; though peace-loving Holland was disturbed in mood, and our hosts were frequently asking their visitors what was thought in different countries about the situation in Czechoslovakia. The Dutch felt that danger was very near.

¹ Cf. "The Exodus from Central Europe." THE MONTH, August, 1938, pp. 147-155.

A "congress" our meeting had to be called, because the Hague is associated with more famous "conferences"; it was the successor to previous conferences in London, 1936, and in Dublin, 1937. Hospitality was wonderful, and arrangements were made and carried through with precision. Proceedings were private, save for a closing meeting, and membership was by invitation of representatives of Catholic groups in various countries, our own group being the Catholic Council for International Relations. The purpose is to bring together each year a few students, familiar with Catholic tradition and doctrine on the subject, and so to help to elucidate the bearing of principles on present-day affairs.

The main studies fell under three headings: Political Causes of International Disorder and their Remedies; Economic Causes; and the Organization of International Society. Within the first group papers were read by Mgr. J. A. Ryan, of the Catholic University of America, who represented the Catholic Association for International Peace, and by Père J. Delos, O.P., of the Catholic University of Lille; in the second by Professor M. Bye, of the University of Toulouse, and Mr. L. J. van der Valk, of the University of Breda; in the third by Father A. Muller, S.J., of the Institute of St. Ignatius, Antwerp, and by Mr. J. Eppstein. The various papers and the conclusions reached after argument and discussion, will be published later.

What is the value of such discussions at a moment when the world, unwillingly or of set purpose, abandons every road to peace save that of force? The will of God must be sought for and declared, however difficult or distant its realization may appear, and God's will must prevail. But His children have to seek for it earnestly and proclaim it. To us it seems evident, in our own country at least, that Catholics are more indifferent to questions of Right and Wrong in international affairs, and perhaps even less appreciative of sound principles, than are our non-Catholic brethren. Father Muller observed that this was the case also with regard to social problems during the last century, when leadership was allowed to pass, because of similar indifference, into other hands. We must learn this lesson of the past and try to provide true doctrine for those who are hungering after it, and who should not be driven to seek it from false teachers.

There is a close analogy at many points between civil society and international society, man or the family being the

unit in the one case, the nation the unit in the other; and the relation between individual rights and social duties, "distributive" and "social" justice, holds in both. Now order or peace, in civil society, has a twofold aspect, negative and positive. The first necessity is the protection of citizens against wrongdoers from without or from within. But this "policeman" function of the State, if taken in isolation, gives a wholly inadequate view; it is a necessary first condition for the State's positive duty, the guiding and directing of activity for the attainment of the common good. In the same way, according to Père Delos, peace is not merely the maintenance of an existing condition of things; that might confirm injustice. Nor is it an individualistic order in which the nations live without offence but also without collaboration. Peace is not mere absence of war. It is a positive activity; a social condition wherein each nation shares in the common international welfare, and so secures for peoples and for citizens a life in conformity with their natural and Christian destiny.

Peace, rightly understood, in the international order, is like the common good as the object of civil society. The one establishes justice as between individual citizens and the national community; it further indicates a charity which applies to the good of all—a love due by each individual to his fellows. In like manner the individual nations, whether they are conscious of these obligations or not, are bound together in an international community by the same laws of justice and charity.

It is matter for regret that this doctrine is not more fully understood among English Catholics. It will be clearer, perhaps, through illustration from the economic field. The Encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno" declares that:

The various nations in common counsel and endeavour should strive to promote a happy international co-operation in economic matters by prudent pacts and institutions, since economically they are largely dependent, one upon the other, and need one another's help.

Cardinal Pacelli, in a letter to the French Social Week of 1932, insisted that

first of all, there is the fundamental unity of the great human family, whom Christ has told that it has One Father Who is in Heaven; all the members of the various

nations have the duty to reflect generously on other nations the love they are bound to manifest towards their own country; it means also that every nation has the duty to respect the legitimate interests of other countries. Furthermore, all nations are bound to practise justice and charity towards one another; this means above all, for all the States taken collectively, the furtherance and service of the international common good, in the same way as the citizens and rulers of each one of them have to further and serve a more proximate and less extensive common good; at the same time, all nations must realize their interdependence, and adapt corresponding methods of collaboration to each aspect of their solidarity; so that if they must, generally speaking, reorganize their national economic systems, they shall not systematically concentrate on themselves behind more and more impassable economic barriers.¹

"In international trade relations," it might be added from the Encyclical "*Divini Redemptoris*," "let all means be sedulously employed for the earliest possible removal of those artificial barriers to economic life which are the effects of distrust and hatred." It is evident from these passages that peace is to be found in active collaboration. "It is dynamic. Like the common good in civil society, its more perfect attainment must be the aim of the nations striving for greater justice and greater charity."

Many among us are inclined to ignore this positive character of peace, which alone gives life, and to concentrate upon its negative, or "law-and-order" quality, and on a limited aspect only of that. We are content to accept the very interesting and necessary casuistry of right and wrong in war-making and war-waging; stimulated, perhaps, to state a clear case for the sake of the pacifist who holds that defence of oneself or of a weaker neighbour is always and necessarily wrong. It is true, of course, that the policeman is a first necessity, if the honest citizen is freely to go about his duties in the community, or the well-disposed nation to fulfil its functions in international society. Under the pressure of

¹ Quoted from "*A Code of International Ethics*," n. 71, pp. 43-44. This little book, prepared by the International Union of Social Studies under the chairmanship of Cardinal Van Roey and issued in English by the Catholic Social Guild, is a valuable guide to doctrine. It was welcomed with high praise in the *Osservatore Romano*, but has been received with misgivings in this country.

events the pacifist has found his position difficult to maintain, and in recent months he has turned his attention exclusively to positive aspects of peace, towards collaboration as exemplified by the I.L.O., and the health, social and intellectual services of the League.

We have tried to illustrate the principle of international society by reference to economic collaboration. Economic obstacles to peace had their place in the Hague discussions, for peace requires harmony in international economic relations: such harmony is disturbed when a nation's political striving for power brings the world's business very near a standstill, or conversely, as instanced in "Quadragesimo Anno," when powerful private enterprise seeks to impose its aims on public authority. Autarky and national isolation in economic affairs, whether on principle or through blind panic, is one of the chief causes of world impoverishment. It is particularly harmful, observed a resolution of the Congress, to the small nations, and it creates extreme danger in the political field. More freedom was held to be desirable in the circulation of products and in exchange of capital, with a restoration of international credit, and sufficient liberty in emigration and immigration. With M. Van Zeeland's Report, it was urged that agreements for economic collaboration should be signed by certain Governments to lead the way for others. There are Catholics in different countries who are of high technical competence in these matters and are also well versed in the social doctrine of the Church. They would render considerable service, it was felt, could they form themselves into small groups and study practical methods of progress from world economic disorder; such national groups should, of course, keep in close contact with one another.

It was realized that, while economic, political and social causes of trouble are inextricably bound up together, none the less the political element dominates the others. The most urgent remedy, therefore, is to influence the spirit of the national communities and of their rulers, and above all to be clear ourselves about the political problem. Now we have observed the analogy that exists between citizenship in civil society and the place of a State in the international community. It is important to realize that the theory one holds concerning civil society will influence greatly one's attitude towards international society and peace. Peace depends on a right notion of civil society.

Most causes of disorder arise, Père Delos argued, from an appeal to genuine sentiments or natural needs, isolating or exaggerating these to the exclusion of all else, and making them the sole foundation of society and of human life. The order of essential values is thrown into confusion, and danger lurks where a false philosophy and practical politics combine to identify the nation, the race or the class, with the State. The State is thus deprived of its true supremacy and is made to serve, not the human person but particularist aims or aspirations. A group seizes power in the name of nation, race or class, and impairs a peaceful political order because it prevents the State from aiming at the true common welfare. The inviolable personality of man, with his claims to justice and his bonds of brotherhood and universal charity, is disregarded. He is looked upon merely as a national, or a producer, or a bearer of the seed of race. The bonds of equality and fraternity between States and peoples are dissolved, as are the justice and love needed for peace in international society. The danger is aggravated when Governments proceed to deprive the citizen of his moral liberty by preventing important events and the most authoritative pronouncements from coming to the knowledge of the people.

Finally, there is the false idea—not confined to the “totalitarians”—of the absolute sovereignty of individual States, an insuperable obstacle, to quote one resolution, in the way of international organization and government, without which peace can be but crippled. “States must cease to claim,” it is stated in *The Code of International Ethics*, “that absolute independence which nature has never given them and which in fact they have never possessed. . . . The term *perfect society* can only be applied to the State in a very restricted sense.” The Congress recalled the doctrine of recent Popes asserting the existence of a natural society of nations. This international society springs from the natural brotherhood and sociability of man and is a consequence, therefore, of the will of the Creator, like the State itself and lesser societies within the State.

But this society cannot accomplish its task without juridical organs for the exercise of its mission. In the civil sphere a moral principle of God's law finds outward expression, man-made and therefore imperfect, in varying constitutions. International society likewise demands organization in positive law, the work of human will. All States are bound to give

their ready contribution to the realization of the common welfare, and it follows logically that some international authority must exist, charged with the duty of securing this by coordinating the particular activities of States. The development of this organization must be wise and gradual, and burdens cannot at any given moment be laid on nations when they are not yet in a condition to support them. One thing is clear, the Congress asserted, namely, the necessity for adequate sanctions against States which refuse to fulfil their obligations of social justice towards the community of nations or which disturb international order and peace. Otherwise, society can be shattered by one wrongdoer. Only the extreme pacifist can put up any show of logic against the necessity and the moral right of sanctions. Private war can be justified only in rare circumstances and then merely as a sorry and dangerous substitute for sanctions decreed and executed by international authority. It is not good for society that the individual should act both as judge and executor in his own cause.

The Congress recalled the forgotten exhortations of Pope Benedict XV in his Peace Message of 1917, reaffirmed by Pope Pius XI in "Nova Impendet." The Covenant of the League of Nations corresponds in its fundamental principles with Pope Benedict's postulates. If the League were to disappear, the only possible substitute would be a new organization constituted on exactly the same fundamental basis.

Catholics, therefore, while mindful of weaknesses and defects revealed by experience, and ready with genuinely constructive reform, will refrain from all purely negative criticism which would imply condemnation of the principles of natural law which are incorporated in its Covenant, and will seek to give full effective support to the action of the League and of the International Labour Organization in all matters where these work for the greater good of the human family.

This exposition of doctrine, and the many serious sources in which it may be studied, seem very remote from the statements received week by week from a number of Catholic writers. Misunderstandings must be met with charity, and the Congress urged all to prepare by educational efforts, combined with prayer, for the work of peace.

LEO O'HEA.

THE BRIGHTON CONFERENCE

THE Catholic Truth Society Conference which was held in Brighton from the 9th till the 12th of September was at once an event of considerable importance and a testimony to the keen interest of many thousands of Catholics in the problems and activities of the Church. Under the fullest ecclesiastical patronage, it was honoured by the presence of twenty-two members of the hierarchy: distinguished speakers addressed its various gatherings. The programme followed more or less traditional lines, with a previous evening reception, a Saturday general meeting and Sunday open-air Mass, and smaller lecture assemblies on the Saturday and Monday. There was a new feature in the symbolic drama, presented by the Ladies of the Grail, in which colour, light and movement were made to express the soul's passage along the regenerating path of grace and the spiritual value of effort and sacrifice.

The mention of traditional lines makes us turn in retrospect to other Congresses held before the War and on one or two occasions since. The first of these occurred in the summer of 1910. Father Sydney Smith, S.J., writing of the genesis of this Congress,¹ explained that the question had been mooted for nearly a quarter of a century. The suggestion had long been made that there might be a series of Catholic Congresses after the method practised by the Anglican Church and by several secular bodies, such as the British Association. Much was to be hoped from such a project: the interchange of ideas and information, the awakening and broadening of interest in vital questions, the uniting of various activities in effective action. Misgivings were not wanting. It was felt that Catholics were as much divided on social and political matters as they were united in religious belief: the outcome of wider discussion might well be to provoke unnecessary dissensions rather than to secure valuable results. In the long run the "Ayes" prevailed. It is worth noticing, however, that the first National Congress sprang directly out of the series of conferences which had been continued by the Catholic Truth Society since 1888. These conferences had

¹ THE MONTH, September, 1910, pp. 225-238.

served a most useful purpose, this was generally admitted, and among their spiritual children, if we may use the term, were to be numbered the Catholic Prisoners' Aid Society, the Catholic Women's League and the Catholic Social Guild. It was at the Manchester C.T.S. conference of 1909 that Archbishop Bourne announced his desire that the first Congress should be held in the following year at Leeds.

This first Congress was frankly in the nature of an experiment: but it proved such a signal success that it was followed by annual Congresses from 1911 until 1914, opened successively at Newcastle, Norwich, Plymouth and Cardiff. Accounts of them make most interesting reading not only because of the subjects there discussed, and of the memory of great figures who took part in them and have since passed to their reward (Cardinal Bourne, Bishop Hedley, Mgr. Bickerstaffe-Drew, Mgr. Parkinson and Fr. Bede Jarrett are of their number), but for the reason that much of what was said then has proved to be prophetic: the dangers there envisaged have now become more actual: some of the hopes then entertained have been fulfilled. Interesting, too, is the consideration that their desire for greater unification of activity was in reality a groping forwards to that ideal of Catholic Action which it is to be the privilege, as well as the duty of our present age to realize.

It is impossible here to enter into a detailed presentation of the various themes of these Congresses. A few brief references must suffice. The inaugural address at Leeds took the appropriate form of a review of the period of English Catholicism which commenced with the restoration of the hierarchy in 1850, and might be considered to have closed in 1910 with the consecration of Westminster Cathedral. A fitting tribute was therein paid by their successor to the three great English Cardinals, to Wiseman for the "ecclesiastical organization under which we live and for the encouragement then given to the establishment of so many religious congregations," to Manning "for the part he himself took, and by his example encouraged Catholics to take, in the more public life of the country," to Vaughan for his all-embracing zeal. At Newcastle in 1911 larger numbers were recorded, described by a secular reporter as "impressive symbols of a remarkable unity." Foreign delegates from France and Germany attended the meetings of the Catholic Women's League, and the need of a Press campaign against prevailing rationalism

was thoroughly ventilated. The Archbishop spoke at some length on the Roman question :

Let it not be said [he argued] that the problem of conciliating the civil independence of the Papacy with the unity of the newly-formed Kingdom of Italy presents a problem so difficult as to be practically incapable of solution. It is not indeed for us to determine what is the exact measure of independent sovereignty which is needed to give to the Holy See the free exercise of its spiritual rights . . . [but] on the side of the Holy See the conditions are not likely to be too onerous . . . so long as these spiritual things are duly and really and incontestably guarded, the extent of the civil independence which guarantees this is a matter of small account.

Truly a remarkable statement made in the days when the Holy Father was the prisoner in the Vatican, and the Italian Government definitely anti-clerical and Masonic : a prophecy that has since come true in just the manner and spirit then foretold.

The choice of Norwich for the third Congress in 1912 was confessedly a venture but it was justified by the results. Catholic Trade Unionists made their appearance, and the Social Guild was particularly in evidence. The major theme was that of the possibility of a return to Catholic Unity on the part of the English-speaking races. It was noticeable that at the recent Brighton conference the tone of the speakers varied between, if not pessimism, at least a mood of realistic gloom, and a more buoyant optimism. At Norwich the same contrast could be glimpsed. Mgr. Benson, preaching on the Sunday evening, made an appeal for the second of these dispositions. "It was in a spirit of optimism that the Apostles so long ago set out to convert Rome. It was by optimism that Catholics would convert England." More aware, perhaps, of the real difficulties, and of all the beauties of English speech and literature that have been pressed into the service of the national heresy, the Archbishop, now Cardinal, stated the problem of reunion in the following measured words :

The four millions who once gave allegiance in religious matters to the Holy See have expanded into a vast multitude, comprising many nations, the vast majority of whom utterly renounce that allegiance. And their com-

mon speech has been fashioned into a weapon, marvellous and beautiful, which for the most part has been engaged in a struggle against the renewal of such allegiance. And all the while, so widespread and so powerful has that English-speaking race become that no reunion of Christianity can be imagined if that race be left outside its pale. It is a problem as great as the world has ever seen, and we may well lose heart were its solution to depend entirely on human means.

At Plymouth in the succeeding year the same contrast between what may be termed the realistic and optimistic outlook was apparent. Both points of view are, of course, valid: it is merely a question of where the major emphasis is placed. Father Martindale's spectacles were rosy. His conviction was that "while it is true that the Christian religion in England is going through a difficult and dangerous passage, yet it is quite as true that an altogether unique opportunity is given to Catholics." More and more people, he considered, were wanting principles that were at once extremely firm and extremely flexible: and only Catholics possess these. The Cardinal's vision was more sombre. Increasing toleration of Catholics was due, he thought, more than for any other more worthy reason, to the growth of religious indifference: it was a negative tolerance and implied little positive understanding. He warned his hearers of two future dangers, the magnitude of which he could then scarcely have foreseen: the threat to the family life through the introduction of divorce legislation: and the fact that absence of religious beliefs and the sense of duty given by them would foster self-seeking and selfishness which in their turn "will bring forth external fruits to the destruction of social order and the peril of the State." The last two decades have unfortunately more than justified these pronouncements.

The fifth and last of the pre-War Congresses was held at Cardiff in the month preceding the outbreak of war. One of its distinctive features was that it was able to assume the character of a Eucharistic Congress, then denied to it in England. Its main themes were those of the Blessed Sacrament and the spreading of the Faith through foreign missions. Bishop Hedley, speaking on the Eucharist and Unity, claimed that Catholic Unity was "a perpetual miracle, the greatest fact in the Faith, the greatest fact in history." Two

years previously attempts had been made to secure a semblance of that unity in English Catholic activity. A Catholic Confederation was instituted "to serve as a means of intercommunication between the Catholic Federations or other Federal Bodies in each diocese, and to unify and solidify Catholic action." Here the word "action" must begin with a small initial letter and not the majuscule we have since come to know. But it is already a confession of the need of the capital letter. Its purpose was rather one of unitedness in necessary defence than that of wider apostolic endeavour. "Majorities without organization are powerless, but organized minorities are all-powerful" was one of its watchwords, since exploited with extraordinary ruthlessness and at least temporary success by the Communists. But it is in the post-War Congresses, held at less frequent intervals in 1920, 1923 and 1926, that this notion is developed. The first of these which met at Liverpool, was concerned with the two characteristics of Catholicism—Unity and Truth. Put into practice, this meant that there must be more effective co-operation and more insistent propaganda. In a paper to the General Meeting Mr. Edward Eyre suggested that a strong, compact lay organization should be built up in this country, with a council authorized to speak on behalf of the entire Catholic body. Others pointed to the need of good and abundant literature which might remove the crusted mass of falsehood and prejudice, and bring before the people the whole contents of the Faith. But this was only one of many ways of spreading that Faith. The following question was an urgent one for every Catholic: Am I spreading the Faith? There was indeed a growing field for the layman and the lay-woman. The last of these three Congresses, that held at Manchester in September, 1926, showed that the demand for good and popular Catholic literature had been seriously considered, if not yet fully satisfied. At a special exhibition of newspaper and magazine resources, published in English, nearly 500 periodicals were displayed, 252 from the British Isles, with the welcome addition of 156 from the United States. The theme of unity and action was once again taken up, this time by Father Bede Jarrett, O.P. Referring to the quality of citizenship, he reminded those present that there had been a time when a Catholic could not by law be a citizen: that time had passed, but now there were many members of the Church who by choice were citizens without being Catholics. In politics

and international outlook was it party loyalty and patriotism or Christian principle that formed their judgment and attitude? Was private gain or class clannishness a more vigorous incentive than the Ten Commandments? The conclusion was that every member of the Church must live as a Catholic genuinely, with conviction and with a sense of a definite responsibility and Catholic mission.

Was it Brighton at which Mr. Chesterton assured us we would arrive along the rolling English road by way of Golders Green? At any rate, there we have arrived by a longer route—Leeds, Norwich, Plymouth, Manchester—a journey beyond the competence of even the most rolling of local trains. The first of the new series of C.T.S. conferences was voted by Cardinal Hinsley "a grand and glorious success." There is no need here to describe its attractive setting and more spectacular moments: the ten thousand faithful gathered round the Sunday altar of white and red and gold against its background of rockery and roses: the stately procession up to the sanctuary, its notes of purple and white lace caught up and continued in bright uniforms and summer colours among the crowd: the immemorial dignity of the Liturgy itself: the packed and enthusiastic audience at the evening rally: gesture and rhythm in which the Grail has taught us to see symbols of higher truth.

One important feature which occupied the smaller meetings, was a pageantry of English Catholic history, presented in language, not in show, by six well-known authorities. Medieval England, Mr. W. A. Pantin reminded his audience, contrived to be intensely Catholic and intensely English. In fact England was most English when she was most Catholic. We must lose the habit of apologizing for ourselves as though we were something foreign, objects of import. To be Catholic, he insisted, is the normal, natural condition of civilized man in general, and the Englishman in particular. What was foreign Mr. Hilaire Belloc showed us once again to be that which is politely called the Reformed Religion. The Reformation came, in the words of his old adversary, Mr. H. G. Wells, not because England was too Catholic but because it was not Catholic enough. When it did come, it was imposed from above upon a reluctant people and for motives that had little to do with religion at all. The very unwillingness to accept it rendered that acceptance a slow, and therefore in the end a thorough process. This very

thoroughness is reflected in English literature and history where all that counted was anti-Catholic. We are reminded here of an address of Cardinal Bourne at a previous Congress in which he made reference to an English literature that had been fashioned, "a literature of most varied kind, of wonderful power, of extraordinary range, all of it hostile, or at least indifferent, to those purposes which in the eyes of Catholics are of supreme importance, both for the well-being of our nation and for the welfare of the human race."¹

Father Philip Hughes continued the story through the period of the Counter-Reformation and the Elizabethan martyrs. It was a record of gradual attrition, and yet of great individual heroism among both clergy and people, and it bequeathed to us the imperishable memory of the martyrs. Dr. David Mathew dealt with the centuries of trial when Mass might still be celebrated in dismantled chapels of great houses and in the rooms of manors. This, he maintained, was not the most vital link: that was to be found in the North rather than the South, in the courage and determination of its faithful minority. That the Faith was preserved at all throughout that dark period was due, he considered, to the Church's poverty, to the union of clergy and laity under the pressure of external opposition and finally to the steadfastness and self-reliance which Catholics manifested in the practice of their Faith. The revival during the nineteenth century was the theme of Mrs. Sheed who spoke of Oxford and the Tractarian movement, of the energy and sacrifice of the immigrants from Ireland, of Newman, Manning and Vaughan: it will not be long, was the burden of her address, before the second spring merges into a glorious summer.

I have mentioned in connexion with the pre-War Congresses a certain contrast between the optimistic and the realistic point of view. At Brighton it was again in evidence: Archbishop Goodier, preaching during the open-air Mass, spoke of England as the most naturally Catholic kingdom in the world. Mr. Belloc has been known to refer to it as the most anti-Catholic of European countries. Mrs. Sheed, as we have seen, contemplated the opening out of spring's promise into golden summer. Dr. Orchard, whose paper on "The Church To-day" was intended to conclude the series of historical studies, suggested that if that season had really followed upon the second spring, it possessed, in the expres-

¹ Norwich, 1912, cf. *THE MONTH*, September, 1912, p. 227.

sion of *Punch*, all the rigours of an English summer. The fortunes of the Church in England, he added, may very well be likened to an English summer: one day is bright, the next gloomy. Speaking from a considerable experience of good will outside the Church, he considered that, while controversy should not be abandoned, greater effort ought to be made to understand the mentality with which we have to deal. The "persuasive and appealing" tract has more chance of success than the one that attacks and condemns. The best manner of demolishing the Anglican position, in his opinion, was to approach it by the recognition of the elements of truth which that position still possessed.

Perhaps the greatest contrast within an essential unity of these two points of view was to be seen in the two splendid addresses delivered at the evening Mass Meeting, the first by Mr. Douglas Jerrold, the second by Archbishop Downey. Mr. Jerrold's subject, that of *Our Dangers*, lent itself to straight speaking and to the realistic point of view. Referring to the question of education, he supposed that it was the State's right to assume responsibility for the education of all its children, but, if religious liberty had any meaning at all, it had to assume also the responsibility of seeing that every child had the right to be instructed in its parents' Faith. As a matter of fact, the State does not assume this responsibility: it openly and publicly repudiates it. To-day in England Catholics are a powerful and organized body under the leadership of the hierarchy. They have the organization and the ability to make Catholic principles known throughout the country and to insist that Catholic principles be observed in the country's government. These principles are neither observed nor recognized: and the indifference and even apathy of Catholics is in part the cause of this. Alluding to the Spanish war, he stated that two main reasons were given for the general failure to see the issues that were there at stake: the plea that the Government of Valencia had originally been lawfully constituted, and the further argument that it was in the British interest to have a divided Spain. With merciless lack of compromise, he asserted that if you say that a Government, once legally established, retains its authority unimpaired, whatever be the crimes it may commit, then you are going as far as Hitler has ever gone in proclaiming the supreme and unassailable rights of the State over the minds and consciences of men. Should you put forward the second

argument concerning supposed British interests, his answer was that "if the British Empire has fallen so low as to take refuge behind a rampart of murdered priests and desecrated churches, then the sooner the British Empire passes from the pages of history, the better for the liberty and life of mankind."

Archbishop Downey countered the threat implied in *Our Dangers* with the consolation afforded us by *Our Opportunities*. Allowing that the present age is one of peril and that the forces of evil have never been so skilfully marshalled, he declared that if he were asked in which period of history he would prefer to live, his reply would be: "in the present period here and now, in this golden age of opportunity." The power of the Resurrection was continually operative within the Church: she was immune from dissolution and from decay. Outside her fold there waxed what is called at times the new morality, which is only a name for the old immorality engaged in the task of finding synonyms for sin. In contrast with this, the Church unfolds to the world a fixed and consistent moral code, endorsed by God under the Old Covenant and reaffirmed by Christ under the New, proclaimed anew by the Church in every age. Outside her fold is confusion, indiscipline and revolt, restlessness and exceeding weariness: but beneath much of this uneasiness lies a striving for better and higher things, and here the Church, and the Church alone can offer true guidance. Catholics have to-day, he insisted, a great opportunity. This is why the Holy Father, in outlining the scheme of Catholic Action, has impressed upon the faithful the urgent need of first of all acquainting themselves with the principles of their religion, and then of translating those principles into practical effect in dealing with their fellow-men. "A great opportunity is afforded us, a great responsibility is thrust upon us."

Our solidarity is that of members of the Mystical Body of Christ, partakers in His life and sharers of His dignity: our crusade and combat is against the spirits of wickedness in high places: our Bible is the inspired word of God in the Church's keeping, and our guiding philosophy is the full revelation of Christ, proclaiming the immortal worth and nobility of man, the sacredness of the family, and the security of the Christian State: our symbol is the Cross of Christ wherein lies "the power of God and the wisdom of God": our gesture is the

signed Cross upon our persons symbolizing faith in the Triune Godhead: our slogan is "The Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ": our vision is the vision splendid, stretching beyond the flaming barriers of the world into the realm of the eternal.

The value of such a conference which the cynic might call in question, is surely evident, even from this short record. That members of a common Faith should meet and profess that Faith together and publicly, should see more clearly problems they will have to or should face, should feel their hearts warmed by the memory of England's Catholic past and their eyes awakened to present and future opportunities—all this is gain, gain that justifies the efforts, and far outweighs the inconvenience required for the preparation of such a conference. Faith professed and strengthened, hope quickened and enlarged, responsibility seen and shouldered—these are things that belong to the worthiest experiences of man. The Cardinal reminded the same audience that the conflict between Good and Evil was at their very doors. The Christian does not choose between these alternatives: he strengthens himself in that choice he has always made. The conference will have made him more conscious of that choice and of all that choice implies.

JOHN MURRAY.

True Love

"Caritas nunquam excidit." 1 Cor.

SHALL Love too change amid the changeful flow
Of things more gross, foredoomed to swift decay?

Shall Love's gold dawning glide to evening gray
And so to night-fall? Shall the heart's hot glow
Sink ashen-chilled by years? Shall fond eyes know

Looks loveless, shall unworthy deeds unsay
Sweet vows of trust, sealed in a bygone day?
Shall scorn dethrone esteem, time faith outgrow?

What Love is based on what may change and tire,
That Love too changes, as the years go by;
Yet, tho' snow sleeps where erst volcano-fire
Melted the rocks, Love's flame endures for aye—
True Love, its source the Truth, its sole desire
The loved one's good, outlives all things that die.

T. KING.

MISCELLANEA

I. CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

ROMAN VIGNETTES.

IX

SANT' IGNAZIO

TO me Sant' Ignazio is one of Rome's finest churches. As baroque as you like, that must be granted, but somehow the magnificence of which that style is capable, is not spoilt there by a multitude of unworthy detail: the wood is not lost sight of for the trees, or what is far worse, for the undergrowth. It stands in a quiet "square" which defies accurate geometrical description, only a few yards from the much-trodden Corso Umberto, and a narrow alley, the Via del Seminario, leads from it to the Pantheon. As you turn to look at it before entering the church, the tiny piazza suggests an architect much in love with the theatre. It is a stage scene, translated into brownish stone: there is a central building with ends that curve distinctly inwards, and concealed exits between this and the two wings. In the evening light it is deceptively unsubstantial: you would scarcely be surprised to see a chorus of village maidens appear in a weaving chain of dance or swarthy operatic pirates sing and sway *à la sicilienne*. It has something of that *trompe l'œil* effect, so familiar in Rome, amazing at its best but too often false and meretricious.

Into the church you go. Formerly you had to wriggle round or under those heavily stuffed mattresses which are hung before the entrance, presumably to exclude the sun and fresh air. To-day there are neatly shining wooden doors. The first impression is one of spaciousness. A broad, open nave leads directly to a majestic sanctuary. The floor is clear: its multi-coloured stone unobscured by rows of benches, unscrapped by wicker chairs. The sense of space is heightened in the happiest *trompe l'œil* manner by the ceiling frescoes of Brother Pozzi which represent the apotheosis of the Saint after whom the church is named. The ceiling is in reality just a barrel vault: but pillars and twirling figures with wavily twisting drapery take your eye with them, as it were through vast distances, to where the Saint kneels before heaven's throne. It is deception that has become art, as has the solidity of Michelangelo's figures on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. To either side an aisle with an altar set well back between each pair of columns. Rich detail but excellent proportions: everything harmonized into one impressive whole: ornament is tamed and chastened to add insensibly to the effect instead of sensibly de-

tracting from it. In the vault above the apse more artistic honour is paid to the Saint with similar interplay of line and curve, and the same glorious and yet mellow colouring: while at the back of the altar are three large paintings which record his vision of our Lady and of the Cross, and his missionary work.

Naturally, the church is associated with St. Ignatius, though he did not build it, nor does it contain his body: that is in the Gesù, constructed nearer his own lifetime, as visitors have been heard to remark, "only a few blocks away." Of the two churches, Sant' Ignazio and the Gesù, I prefer the former. And this in spite of the fact that Vignola was the Gesù's architect, and its more intimate connexion with the early years of the Society. Granted that Sant' Ignazio has some personal memories: I served Mass there regularly throughout an academic year: and, be this of interest to the Fascist-minded, it is the only building within which I have seen Mussolini. The church was begun in 1626 to commemorate the canonization of Saints Ignatius and Francis Xavier. They were raised to the Church's altars on the same day, along with St. Teresa, St. Philip Neri and St. Isidore, in one of the most striking Masses of canonization ever witnessed. Cardinal Ludovisi, nephew of Gregory XV, was responsible for the building, and the church has had a special connexion ever since with the Ludovisi, now Boncompagni Ludovisi family. In a sense, it forms part of a far larger construction which was once the Roman College, built by a former Pope Gregory, the XIIIth. A project very dear to St. Ignatius, this college was inaugurated in 1550 in a small house under the Capitol and was moved successively to three larger houses until its definite establishment by Gregory XIII in 1582. More than twenty years previous to this, when Robert Bellarmine joined it in 1560, a hundred and fifty Jesuits were resident, while more than six hundred external students attended its lectures. In the decades that followed, these hundreds grew to thousands till its fame spread throughout Catholic Europe, and substantial abuse was heaped upon it from the countries beyond the Catholic pale. Men of European eminence like Bellarmine, Suarez, De Lugo and Toletus, were numbered among its professors: ten future Popes studied within its walls: and among its "old boys" are six canonized saints.

The march of time and time's vicissitudes have caused it to be transferred from the original Roman College, first to the Palazzo Borromeo with its too narrow lecture rooms and the stunted shrubs in its small cortile, shut in between high walls, and, more recently, to a new and thoroughly modern home across the Corso in the Piazza della Pilotta. To-day its work continues, in lighter and more adequate surroundings. Robert Bellarmine, its former student and professor, is now its heavenly patron: the spirit of that saint and scholar is still its formative ideal. Thither come

close on two thousand five hundred students of more than fifty different countries and, I should imagine, of nearly fifty divers religious habits and varieties of college dress. The full red of the Germans and Hungarians is even more startling against the friars' russet and Trinitarian white: there are the pleasing but softer notes of Spanish blue and the heather lining of the Scottish cloaks. It is the most "universal" University in the world. Those who attend it are the modern equivalent of the "Parthians and Medes and Elamites" and the rest of the Apostles' motley audience on the first Pentecost morning. "We have heard them speak in our own tongues," these shouted to one another with something more than a mild surprise, "of the wonderful works of God." The theme is still the same even if it be couched in the language of the schools. And although the Gregorian professors would hardly claim a gift of tongues, in a sense they have no need of it. They can discourse on "the wonderful works of God," and are heard and, for the most part, understood, in the universal Latin of the Catholic Church.

We have deserted Sant' Ignazio. And yet within it are included the shrines of three of the six Gregorian saints. Under the last altar to the right, where the Blessed Sacrament is reserved, is the mottled blue urn of lapis lazuli which holds the remains of St. Aloysius. A scion of the noble Lombard family of Gonzaga, he has been declared the patron of Christian youth. Unfortunately, makers of pious images and writers of pious lives have not been kind to him. He died at the early age of twenty-three, loved by all who came into contact with him, and so venerated by a scholar and prelate like Bellarmine that he deemed it his highest privilege to be buried by his side. An early portrait shows us a sturdy and well-knit lad. We are informed that he took dancing lessons, read novels, was fond of watching races and shooting birds. But all this and the fair prospect his name and position offered was accounted of little value once he determined to follow his Master in a more intimate way. A cardinal, bishop and archpriest, a formidable ecclesiastical trinity, tried to dissuade him but without avail. He fled the world that was his for the asking, in bounteous measure: he sought Christ and found Him in prayer and sacrifice and a death for others. Over the urn are four twisted columns that hold a marble bas-relief which show him in the presence of our Lady: and on his feast day Roman boys, dressed in the garb of Spanish court pages, stand sentinel beside his altar and will place your written petition beneath his tomb.

Serious he was and grave, as was also the second of the three young Jesuit saints whose altar across the nave faces his. John Berchmans came to Rome a few years after Luigi's death, a young Fleming from Diest near the present Dutch frontier, quiet, industrious and determined: the saint of ordinary things, it might be

said, but of ordinary things envisaged and performed in quite an extraordinary way. *Maximi facere minima*—his motto; to give beauty to what is trite, to touch routine with the magic of adventure and of ardent questing—this was his achievement.

One altar more, and this next to the shrine of his spiritual pupil, Aloysius—the altar of St. Robert Bellarmine. It is simpler than the other two in a kind of inverse ratio to his lifetime fame which was immeasurably greater. He was preacher and lecturer: controversialist and theologian: bishop and shepherd of souls, and finally Cardinal of the Church: heretical dons and a rather foolish English monarch were among his adversaries. He rests with two young saints, the one his disciple, the other his contemporary in dying, in the spacious setting of Sant' Ignazio.

X

TESTE DAVID CUM SIBYLLA

Few visitors to Rome will have failed to notice the severe and bare façade of a church perched at the summit of a particularly uninviting flight of steps, and seeming to be wedged between the glistening and over-large Monument of Vittorio Emmanuele and the time-softened buildings that crown the Capitol. The façade is bare, not of deliberate purpose, but because the marble and mosaics that were meant to cover it have never been put into position. Possibly the two details which remain in the chance traveller's memory are the steep ascent and the well-known *Bambino* or statue of the Infant Jesus, clad in its robes of silk and ablaze with flashing ornament. It is here, during the Christmas season, when the statue is exposed in its elaborate crib, that children are brought by emulous parents to preach a fervorino in Gesù's honour. And how they do this! With expressive eyes and gestures as natural as a leaf's unfolding, they turn to the *Bambino*, speak to Him, plead with him and at the end salute Him courteously—and all this with a natural grace and charm for which the more studied speaker would gladly give half his art. Italian children are lovely creatures. But, stranger, beware how you make friends with them: for their parents have not yet forgotten that a stranger may have the "evil eye."

The church is important, however, for other things besides its fatiguing steps and the court clothes of its *Bambino*. The interior is vast and silent where twenty-two ancient columns divide the nave from its aisles. It is richly adorned with marble and the soft tones of Pinturicchio's frescoes. The name of Ara Coeli or Heaven's Altar has a curious legend associated with it. This tells how Augustus, the Roman Emperor reigning at the time of Christ's birth, had a vision of the Son of God: the vision occurred on the site of the present church, the story continues, and was interpreted by the Sibyl or prophetess of Tibur (now Tivoli) as a sign

that a new era was at hand. What is supposed to be the ancient altar, erected upon the site of the apparition, stands in a transept chapel and has an inscription to the effect that it was set up by Octavian, that is Augustus. The legend is pleasant and edifying but quite untrue. What is, however, of considerable interest is the mentality out of which it could grow.

To the first-century Christian the Roman Empire was an ungodly thing. With its complex civilization, its cultured this-worldliness and its thousands of petty deities, it was for him the "world" par excellence: in fact, it was almost devil and world and flesh combined. He felt himself a "martyr," that is a witness, long before he might have to suffer martyrdom. He was a witness unto Christ in a society and in surroundings as far removed as could be imagined from any Christian ideal. But, as the Faith spread and the number of Christians was more in evidence, this attitude gradually altered. Pagan Rome was still the great Babylon, the sewer of error and iniquity: but out of the sewer, they now considered, something might be salvaged. There were occasional bits of good embedded in the evil, and throughout the long night of pagandom a light had flashed or flickered intermittently: and this light was held to be a faint foretelling of the Gospel message. Christian scholars began to express their doctrines in the language of ancient philosophy: Plato was thought of as an Attic Moses, speaking Greek instead of Hebrew: and many strange oracles of seers and priestesses were understood to refer to Christ, and multiplied in alarming fashion. Chiefly because of his Fourth Eclogue, a short poem which predicted the birth of a godlike child and an age of gold he was to inaugurate, the poet Virgil was ranked loosely with the prophets. At Rheims or Rouen in an antiphonal sequence during a feast-day Mass, Virgil was summoned as the "vates gentilium," the prophet of the Gentiles, to give testimony to Christ: the reply came back in the verses of what was later called the Messianic Eclogue. There is an old tradition that St. Paul, during his first days in Italy at Puteoli, visited Virgil's tomb and there exclaimed: "What a saint would I have made of thee, greatest of all poets." The *anima cortese mantovana* is not only Dante's poetic master but his guide also through the circles of the Inferno: but, that journey once complete, the old yields place to new, the pagan Virgil to Beatrice, the Christian.

Among these supposed pagan prophets the Sibyls were the most important. From one their number grew to hundreds though only ten seem to have had official recognition. They were priestesses, connected with Apollo, who uttered oracular answers from caves and temples. Their replies to inquirers were as obscure or as ambiguous as those of politicians, as vague and at times as contradictory as opinions in the Press. But they were eagerly consulted, as were the numerous augurs and soothsayers, their

humbler brethren. It was, however, the riddling Sibyls who left an impress upon the popular and artistic imagination. "Teste David cum Sibylla"—a much later hymn, the *Dies Irae*, invokes them together with the royal prophet: both sides of the ancient world, as it were, are called to witness. So, too, it was when classical literature and mythology, never completely lost sight of, came into much more than their own, at the flowering of the Renaissance. In the great frescoes of Michelangelo and Raphael, Sibyls and Hebrew prophets are pictured side by side, whether on the wall to the right as you enter the church of Santa Maria della Pace where four of them are shown listening to angelic tidings of the Saviour's birth, or in the Sistine Chapel where the painted forms of prophets and Sibyls seem to stand out in bold relief from the curving arches. They are witnesses unto Christ in that chapel of artistic wonders in which everything is overawed by the vigour of line and movement and the sombre, threatening colouring of the Last Judgment. But here it is no mere question of "Teste David cum Sibylla." They are present in force—David, Isaias, Ezechias and the rest (a subconscious imp begins to whistle the tune of Uncle Tom Cobley): and gigantic Sibyls from Persia, Phrygia, Cumae and elsewhere, are set between them.

XI

THE TREVI FOUNTAIN

Should you wish to come back to Rome—and who will not at times entertain this wish?—there is, I am told, one infallible method of making sure of it. Before you leave, you must throw a copper coin into the waters of the Trevi fountain. Just *due soldi* or two sous, as the French would have said, when the sou had a real, if tiny value. In more explicit forms of this advice, you are told to cast in your coin by moonlight, presumably because it will then be easier for the Roman boys to fish it out. Fished out they apparently are, since you never see them a'glinting through the water as you pass by. There is, of course, a branch of the Finance Ministry or Pensions' Office not far away, but I scarcely dare to hint that they retain a special official for this piscatory exercise.

The name Trevi has obviously to do with "trivium" or place where three ways meet. Actually at least five streets straggle into its irregular *Largo*, or the portion that is not occupied by the fountain. Its is no ordinary display with tapering jet flung upwards and falling, fanwise, in a glistening spray. With rush and roar the water pours forth from the travertine rock: over it rides a giant Neptune, aloft in a sea-shell chariot: his steeds the ocean horses, Tritons his bodyguard. In front of him the water falls in a broad central cascade while to either side it tumbles in splashing streams and rills. At the very top a stone tiara and pair of

crossed Papal keys seem to form a baldacchino over the sea god's head, and those who linger by its freshness on sun-baked afternoons are reminded by an inscription that it is a Papal gift. But it is only one such in a city of fountains. The water is drawn from hills to the south whence the ancient Romans too drew it many centuries ago. The sole difference is that now it flows in pipes underground, whereas then it was carried over lofty arches, still to be glimpsed in the Campagna between the city and the hills.

Trevi is a corner of old Rome with just that human blend of confusion and variety which is so typical. Dirty, if you insist, but definitely picturesque. In and out the balustrades that flank the basin children play and tumble: groups gather and gossip and gesticulate in the roadway: between them the carrozza driver winds and shouts his way as his horse's hoofs clatter over the well-worn cobbles. From the tiny shops that seem so many caverns cut into the massive walls stream outwards light and sounds and at times odours, pungent or rancid. Criss-cross they hasten hither and thither—for a hurried visit to the church at one corner, for a longer stay in a trattoria at another. The bright and varied flowers, arranged on the church steps, merge into the pattern of a fleecy rainbow rug. High up on the wall where two ways meet, is a glass-fronted image of the Madonna with a steady lamp before it, and in a jar a handful of fading roses. The flash of headlights as a car moves slowly by: over the water an evening-silvered haze, more ghostly as the dark descends, and the sinuous carven figures loom larger, like strange grey monsters. The clear tones of the last Angelus linger for a while upon the air and slowly fade: it is almost night.

J.M.

THE SHRINE OF OUR LADY AT KNOCK.

IN a series of articles devoted to the phenomena of Limpas (THE MONTH, August to December, 1920), an account was given of sundry more or less analogous manifestations occurring elsewhere in comparatively modern times. Among other places reported to have been the scene of such happenings mention was made of the church of Knock in County Mayo, where a very curious kind of spectacle is said to have been witnessed by a number of the villagers on August 21, 1879. What was seen in this case was not a living and moving apparition of the Blessed Virgin, such as that reported at La Salette, Lourdes, Fatima, or more recently at Beauraing and Banneux, but a group of three motionless figures, looking like statues or a *tableau vivant*, and discernible against the exterior of the end wall of the church by means of a mysterious radiance which lit up all its lower surface. The group consisted of our Lady in the centre, crowned and hold-

ing up her hands like an *orante* in the catacombs, with St. Joseph on her right inclining profoundly towards her, and on her left a mitred figure holding a book. This last was, for some reason, identified with St. John the Apostle, and beside him was also seen an altar with a lamb standing upon it. This group remained visible from about a quarter to eight in the evening to half-past nine, and at least a dozen adults of varying ages, with two boys and a little girl, deposed to having observed it closely, some of them praying before it for a long space of time in spite of the heavy rain that was falling. The accounts given by the witnesses, of which a record exists, taken down officially about six weeks later, are in agreement as to all the substantial facts. As compared with the descriptions available of such alleged visions as those of Pontmain, Marpingen, Mettenbach, Pellevoisin, etc., it seemed to me that the evidence was good and reliable. Whether we call it hallucination or not, it is difficult to suppose that these good people had consciously fabricated the story. In October, 1879, several months before the newspaper reporters got wind of it and came from all parts to entertain the public with an account of the miracles wrought at Knock, the simple village folk were not in the least likely to foresee that an apparition of our Blessed Lady might have a commercial value for the locality later on. Moreover, an invented story would surely have taken a more picturesque shape. We should have had a living, speaking Madonna after the manner of La Salette, not a vision of a row of rather incongruous statues.

But the conviction that the witnesses were speaking the truth in their report of what they saw or thought they saw does not settle the matter.¹ Nothing is more puzzling than the whole subject of visual hallucinations. Experiences of this kind are a great deal more common than is generally supposed. More than forty years ago the Society for Psychical Research appointed a committee to study the matter and they endeavoured to secure from as many people as possible an answer to this question—"Have you ever, when believing yourself to be completely awake, had a vivid impression of seeing or being touched by a living being or inanimate object or of hearing a voice; which impression, so far as you could discover, was not due to any external, physical cause?" In all 17,000 people were interrogated and 1,684 answered in the affirmative, that is to say, very nearly ten per cent

¹ Apart from what we may call the official text of the depositions taken down in October, 1879, we have also the account of the special reporter of the (Dublin) *Weekly News* (January 31 to February 21, 1880) who questioned many of the witnesses, and especially that of Mr. Joseph Bennett representing the (London) *Daily Telegraph*. His long article (published February 28, 1880) gives a very convincing account of the statement made to him by Pat Hill, described as "about 14 years of age, a bright, intelligent little fellow who told his tale clearly and simply." He also interviewed the priest's housekeeper, Mary McLoughlin, the first to see the figures illuminated in the "gable." His whole report, regard being had to the non-Catholic and unsensational newspaper in which it appeared, makes a very favourable impression.

admitted that they had had such an experience, many of them more than once. Two-thirds of the replies were concerned with visual hallucinations. Of course, the collective impression of a number of people who see the same thing at the same time is much more difficult to account for. But examples analogous to that of Knock, or of the children of Beauraing, are by no means unheard of. A more extraordinary case than that of Melleha¹ when Father John McHale, S.J., and a number of others saw the hand and arm of a stone statue continue for the best part of half an hour to move from the shoulder in a gesture of blessing, could hardly be imagined. For that reason I felt bound, in giving an account of the Knock apparition, to declare that I was "far from thinking that its supernatural character is in any way clearly established."

The suggestion that the appearance of the figures against the wall might have been caused by some trickster with a magic lantern seems to be sufficiently refuted not only by *The Daily Telegraph* reporter's verdict that no cover was available for such an operation, but also by the denial of the witnesses that there was any round circle of light, and by the rain which would surely have betrayed the path of the rays. So also any drawing of figures on the wall in luminous paint must have left behind some traces of its presence, and is almost unthinkable in such a remote and then very primitive locality. There were, it is alleged, some three or four other manifestations seen later, but these were of quite another character, consisting mainly of mysterious lights, and the evidence for these is by no means convincing.

So far as can be ascertained, the vogue of Knock as a place of pilgrimage in the three or four years which followed the apparition rested mainly on the report of miracles. These were worked for the most part by water which acquired its healing properties from having fragments of the plaster of the "gable" wall thrown into it. In the books and pamphlets which are now carrying on an active propaganda for Knock as the special shrine of Our Lady, "Queen of Ireland," much is made of the miracles, some of the early period, others of recent date. It must be confessed that those at first recorded by Archdeacon Cavanagh,² the parish priest of

¹ See *THE MONTH*, November, 1893, and my book "Beauraing and other Apparitions," pp. 91—103; where reference is also made to the cross at Migné, and the statue of St. Dominic at Soriano in Calabria. It should be noted that the phenomenon at Melleha was witnessed by intelligent and quite unprejudiced English visitors on three occasions, as well as by Maltese ecclesiastics at an earlier date.

² It seems difficult to ascertain precisely what constitutes the functions of an Archdeacon, and by whom this honour is conferred. Some Irish dioceses have apparently no Archdeacon. But by a courtesy which appears to be borrowed, strangely enough, from the Church of England, the Catholic Archdeacons of Ireland are all styled "Venerable." Thus Archdeacon C. W. Corbett, the parish priest of Mallow, who recently addressed to *The Irish Times* (July 27, 1938) a strongly worded protest against the Knock pilgrimages, is not less "Venerable" than Archdeacon Cavanagh, whose influence and visions helped so largely, in 1880, to make Knock a centre of devotion.

Knock at the time of the apparition, are not all of them very satisfactory. Here is the surprising story of Miss Bourke, described as "a lady of property," which is quoted from *The Weekly News* of February, 1880, not only by Miss Cusack in 1880, but by Judge Coyne in his book "Knock Shrine" (1936), the most impressive work on the subject so far published, in the following terms (p. 163):

She lay in her carriage recumbent, as if in bed. Four persons assisted to carry her into the church, her mother, Archdeacon Cavanagh, her footman and her maid. She prayed for a while before the altar; then to the delight and amazement of all observers, got up and walked out of the church and to her carriage, with no other assistance than that afforded by her mother's arm. To-day she drove up again to the church just as I happened to be standing by the gate. I saw her walk into the edifice, assisted by her mother, and after an interval spent in prayer, I saw her return with her mother to the carriage.

This account, written on February 1, 1880, appeared in *The Weekly News* next day. The (London) *Daily News* correspondent, in one of his four articles devoted to Knock, was interested in this case because it was one of the few occurring in the neighbourhood which offered some prospect of inquiry and verification. In *The Daily News* of February 28th, less than a month later, he tells us how he asked Archdeacon Cavanagh about Miss Bourke:

"Ah, poor thing," said the Archdeacon to me, "she's dead since." He added "when a portion of the cement of the wall is put into water, the water becomes muddy and there is sediment in it; but when it stands for some time the water is beautifully clear, just like the purest spring water. Before Miss Bourke was brought to the chapel some of this water was sent to her, and she drank it, and she felt much better next day, but she is dead now, poor thing!"

Another miracle widely advertised in 1880, and appearing in all the early accounts, as also recently in that of Judge Coyne (p. 138), is that of Pat Scott who declared that his leg had not been the least use to him for upwards of eight and a half years, but that he could now walk firmly on it. Inquiries made by *The Daily News* correspondent, however, throw grave suspicion on the accuracy of both clauses of that statement.

No doubt there have been many invalids who have derived genuine benefit from a pilgrimage to Knock, but do any of these reputed miracles differ essentially in character from the cures worked by Mr. James Hickson, by the Zouave Jacob, by the Christian Scientists, or by Dr. Dowie in whose periodical "Leaves of Healing" they may be numbered by hundreds? What we remark in this case is the strange suspension of these marvels

from the time when discredit was brought upon the shrine by the "Nun of Kenmare" (Miss Cusack) who had printed so many enthusiastic accounts of Knock and had settled there to found a convent with Archdeacon Cavanagh's earnest encouragement. This was only a year or two before she rebelled against ecclesiastical authority and finally left the Catholic Church, spending the rest of her days in virulent attacks upon Rome and its clergy. One searches Judge Coyne's pages in vain for any details of miracles at Knock between 1891 and the period when the establishment of the Irish Free State lent stimulus to the idea of recognizing Knock as a national shrine. That the pilgrimages which, for the last few years, have brought so many devout clients to honour our Blessed Lady in Mayo may have been attended with much benefit both to body and soul is not to be doubted, but this does not prove that the Mother of God ever showed herself there, even though Teresa Higginson, as Judge Coyne reminds us, wrote to her confessor:

Our Lord has this morning shown me that your requests will be granted and that greater wonders than those at Knock He will bring to pass in our very midst, that the eyes of all nations shall be turned towards us and pilgrims come from afar off.

This, written in 1880, is no doubt more of a tribute to Bootle than to Knock, but it all helps to stimulate interest. So also does a kind of periodical issued "cum permissu Superiorum, 25 March, 1938": *Irisleabar Cnuic Muire*, or *Knock Shrine Annual*, as its English title calls it—the advertisements, by the way, being meant to be read, are printed entirely in English. In this we are informed that: "The first print of this Journal contains 20,000 copies. We are especially grateful to our advertisers who have made it possible to place it on sale at 6d. per copy. In return we ask you to give them preference in your needs." From these numerous advertisements intending pilgrims may learn that in travelling so far to the West they are not necessarily leaving civilization behind them. Castlebar is a town near Knock and at "The Green, Castlebar" there is an "American Beauty Parlour" which provides "Ladies' Haircutting and Shingling; Permanent Waving, Marcel Waving, Water Waving, Beauty Culture, etc."; while at Galway, though more distant, a lady announces "Permanent Waving, all best Systems, Matchless, No Electricity. The Perms within the reach of everybody." Similarly at other establishments, man's more vulgar needs can be supplied, ranging from "Fertilizers" to "Bacon"; and from "Tailoring" to "Shrine Candles" and "Souvenirs of Knock." No doubt all this follows traditional custom, long familiar at Lourdes and at Lisieux, but it is rather sad that pilgrimage propaganda cannot apparently be carried on without such aids.

A curious puzzle regarding the personal appearance of Archdeacon Cavanagh is suggested by the data furnished in the *Knock*

Shrine Annual. Archbishop Lynch of Toronto, writing in 1882, describes him on p. 56 as "tall, thin and ascetic looking"; but on p. 35 Father Jarlath, O.Cist., who as a boy frequently visited Knock at this precise period, refers to him as "the portly Arch-deacon." The drawing, reproduced in the same *Annual* on p. 54, seems distinctly to favour the latter view. Judge Coyne announces the projected publication of a *Life of Archdeacon Cavanagh*. One ventures to hope that this will not be merely a panegyric, but that it will include a serious discussion of the impressions, favourable and unfavourable, made upon his contemporaries.

H.T.

"THE MONTH" FORWARDING SCHEME AN IMPORTANT MESSAGE

The editor offers his grateful thanks to all readers who during the past three months have volunteered to assist the Forwarding Scheme, and at the same time expresses his regret that many welcome letters, both from missionaries and readers, have been answered merely by a printed card. The Hon. Secretary was unable to deal fully with such correspondence owing to extra demands caused by the Editor's illness (he is now making excellent progress) and the seasonal call of holidays. Full routine work could thus be resumed only in mid-September. All letters will be answered in due course, and we ask for the patience of both missionaries and readers while arrears are being made up.

Once again we thank those who have sent us **foreign stamps**. They are helping the Scheme in no uncertain manner, for indeed, without our "stamp trade," it could scarcely continue in its present extended form. Many packets have been sent anonymously. For these we are most grateful, and we have written to express our thanks to those whose names and addresses have been given. We beg them all to continue sending stamps and to have their friends collect for them as well. We would like to secure a further dozen direct subscriptions to *THE MONTH* in favour of priests in isolated mission-stations where a second-hand copy now arrives so very late.

Readers who are willing to forward their "Month" to a missionary or to provide an annual subscription (14s.) for one to be sent direct to the more distant outposts are asked to communicate with The Hon. Secretary, "The Month" Forwarding Scheme, 31 Farm Street, Berkeley Square, London, W.1. Readers *must* enclose a stamped addressed envelope, and all names and addresses, whether of missionaries applying for "The Month," or readers providing it, *should be printed in capitals*.

FOREIGN STAMPS, particularly from British Colonies, are collected by the Secretary and sold for the work of the Forwarding Scheme. These should be cut off leaving roughly $\frac{1}{4}$ in. margin. If edges or backs are damaged they are useless.

II. OUR CONTEMPORARIES

- AMERICA: Aug. 27, 1938. **Bishops of the United States from 1790 till 1938**, by Richard Reid. [An interesting short account of the steady growth of the Church in the United States.]
- CATHOLIC GAZETTE: Sept., 1938. **Anglicanism and "The Common Enemy,"** by Father H. E. G. Rope. [A well-argued submission that Anglicanism, as such, "is and has always been part of the common enemy."]
- CATHOLIC TIMES: Sept. 16, 1938. **Light your Fires again but Think**, by Father B. Grimley. [An eloquent and downright plea for better conditions for the miners.]
- CATHOLIC WORLD: Sept., 1938. **Catholics and Communists**, by G. M. Godden. [A timely exposé of the Communists' trick of inviting French and American Catholics to join with them in immediate action, while they throw a cloak over their still militant atheism.]
- CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA: Sept. 3, 1938. **Norme, Metodi e Programmi dell' Insegnamento Religioso in Italia**, by Father M. Barbera, S.J. [A schematic and detailed account of school religious instruction in Italy, with programmes and regulations.]
- COMMONWEAL: Sept. 2, 1938. **The Church and Fascism**, by James A. Magner. [A timely and thorough treatment of that widespread and totally erroneous notion that the Church and the Holy Father have "espoused the cause of Fascism."]
- ÉTUDES: Sept. 5—20, 1938. **Newman, Étudiant et Maître d'Oxford**, by Father J. Lebreton, S.J. [A pleasing study of the Oxford days of Newman from a distinguished French scholar.]
- IRISH MONTHLY: Sept., 1938. **Vocational Organization and the Farm**, by Father J. M. Hayes. [The reprint of a radio broadcast, which contains some sound and well-balanced suggestions for the application of the vocational scheme to agriculture.]
- STIMMEN DER ZEIT: Sept., 1938. **Freiheit und Mannigfaltigkeit in der Einheit**, by Father Yves de Montcheuil, S.J. [A scholarly analysis of Möhler's conception of the Church, on the occasion of his recent centenary.]
- STUDIES: Sept., 1938. **Saint Andrew Bobola**, by Father H. Thurston, S.J. [An interesting study of the historical background and religious career of the most recently canonized Jesuit martyr.]
- TABLET: Sept. 10, 1938. **The Fulda Pastoral**. [The full text of the collective Pastoral of the German Hierarchy showing where, and how, violent attacks are being made upon the Church.]: Sept. 17, 1938. **Georges Sorel and Counter-Revolution**, by Bernard Wall. [An illuminating account of the advocate of Syndicalism, whom both Right and Left have acclaimed as forerunner and prophet.]

REVIEWS

I—THREE COUNTRIES¹

THE New Ireland, with its Constitution beginning: "In the Name of the Most Holy Trinity," shines like a good deed in a naughty world. After the striving of centuries Eire can at last call her soul her own. That soul is well pictured in Mr. Morton's generous, well-informed and shrewd little book. Mr. Morton, an Englishman, has an almost boundless admiration for Mr. de Valera, but it is an admiration very solidly based on knowledge of that great Catholic statesman's achievement. Mr. de Valera has confounded all his critics and won the reluctant homage of his enemies. In a hundred pages of forceful and occasionally glowing prose Mr. Morton tells how he succeeded. Those who read them will surely catch his enthusiasm, and also learn of an Ireland that they will surely want to visit before they die. It is still a partitioned Ireland, but that is the last problem, and time is slowly eating away a Border which ought never to have existed.

With the New Ireland may well be associated the New Portugal. "We do not ask for much," has stated Dr. Salazar, its creator; "an understanding and consciousness of the Fatherland and of National Unity; of the Family, the primary social unit; of authority and of obedience to authority; of the spiritual values of life, and of the respect that is owing to man: of the obligation to labour; of virtue and of the sacred nature of religion—that is what is essential in the mental and moral formation of a citizen of the 'Estado Novo'." In a succinct and admirable narrative Mr. Derrick tells us the story of Portugal's resurrection out of chaos and disorder, upwards from the chicanery, corruption and terrorism of succeeding Liberal administrations. The record of the Republic between 1910 and 1926 provides illuminating reading. During those sixteen years there were eight Presidents and forty-three different ministries: political assassinations were quite normal: three hundred and twenty-five bombs burst in the Lisbon streets from 1920 to 1925. Dr. Salazar has created order out of anarchy, given prosperity to a bankrupt nation, and taught his people a healing faith in its own history and mission: and all this has been secured without noise and national assertiveness. *The Times* (March 13, 1935) declared that "it is impossible to deny that the economic improvement in Portugal since 1928 is not only with-

¹ (1) *The New Ireland*. By J. B. Morton. London: Sands. Pp. 114. Price, 3s. 6d. (2) *The Portugal of Salazar*. By Michael Derrick. London: Paladin Press. Pp. 160. Price, 5s. (3) *The Mission of Austria*. By Edward Quinn. London: Paladin Press. Pp. 142. Price, 5s.

out parallel anywhere else in the world, but is an achievement for which history can show but few precedents." The truth is that Dr. Salazar is intensely Catholic and has succeeded in enshrining in his country's new Constitution the fundamentally Catholic principles of justice and social order. Mr. Derrick gives us a clear analysis of the Constitution and shows just how it has been influenced and perfected by those principles and ideals. Dr. Salazar craves no limelight: he is no man of violent gesture nor of fiercely flung exaggeration. He would gladly retire to his Chair of Political Economy at Coimbra for he is the *homme d'état malgré lui*. And in this detachment as well as in his Catholic Faith and exceptional clarity of vision resides his true greatness. The story of Portugal's revival is fascinating, and Mr. Derrick tells it extremely well. As one reads, one can scarcely avoid drawing a parallel with the development of the Republic in Spain. Illuminating is the statement that "the army, which, being a cross-section of the people and relatively immune from political brow-beating, is nearly always in Spain and Portugal the truest indication of national opinion."

Two up and one down. Would that we could have added a New Austria to the New Ireland and the New Portugal, and have hailed Dr. von Schuschnigg as another Salazar. The principles he followed were the same, his ideals were similar. He was fighting a losing battle on two fronts: but it was a battle fought courageously and in the best of causes. In small compass Father Quinn traces the attempt to build up a post-war and post-Parliamentary Austrian State, pays generous tribute to those who strove to fashion it, and considers that they would have succeeded in the attempt, had not overwhelming force from outside brought their plans to ruin. His is an interesting and timely book, and he has some sound things to say about the Austrian Idea in itself and in its historical development. We have said that the book is timely. Timely it is in this sense, that the present crisis in Czechoslovakia should make us understand how essential to Danubian Europe was the old Austrian Idea. Palacký, one of the wisest of nineteenth-century Czechs, refused an invitation to the German Parliament at Frankfurt in 1848 on the grounds that the Pan-Germans wished to make Austria impossible, "a State whose preservation, integrity and the strengthening of which is and must be a great and important matter not only for my people but for all Europe, indeed for humanity and for civilization." In the same letter of refusal occurred the oft-quoted sentence: "In truth, if the Austrian Empire had not been in existence, in the interest of Europe, in the interest of Humanity itself, one would hasten to create it." We would have a fuller understanding of certain modern difficulties, and possibly a better sense of their solution, did we know more of the Austrian Idea.

2—COMMUNISM AND THE WORKERS¹

MR. SHEED'S work on Communism is worthy of high commendation. It is more even than it professes to be, namely, an outline of those sociological principles involved in man's nature, which are here applied for the testing of Communism. The main theme of the book is developed in one of the clearest and fairest discussions we have ever read. The author's argument is straightforward and easy to follow, and gains much of its force from his habit of working inwards from different or opposed points of view to one central idea. He has made a thorough study of his subject, and is accordingly able to remove this or the other false conception which the opponent of Marxism frequently entertains.

Yet there is something more. Mr. Sheed touches lightly upon it and leaves us eager for a fuller consideration. It is well known that Communism is not so much a philosophical system as a religion, without its proper object but with a full share of its mysticism. It has set mighty forces moving in Russia not by arguments but through a vision. Russia, essentially a peasant country, was the least suitable of all countries for a proletarian experiment (this, be it remarked, is failing quickly and surely there): but it was possible in Russia because the Russians are visionaries. One of the great merits of this book lies in its insistence that you cannot meet a vision or unconvince a visionary with mere argument: you can counter one vision only with a vision of another kind. Until Western Europeans recapture that vision which was the pride and delight of their ancestors, they can have no adequate shield to ward off the Marxist attack. This lost vision is that of the Church, the mystical community of all men in Christ. Could this be recreated, its proletarian parody would dissolve like early autumn mist. To the query how it may be glimpsed again Mr. Sheed gives one answer: it is the only answer that can be given. His chapters on the Social Teaching of the Church lead us towards it. We should like to think that his comment upon the need of a fuller study of one or two aspects of that teaching is really a promise of a further volume.

Every age brings its fresh accusation against the Church, and new problems which she must solve. She is called upon constantly to change her weapons and to manoeuvre on what may at first appear unfamiliar ground. Like a good tactician, however, she is not content with mere defence but endeavours to swing the movement round in her own favour, for the salvation alike of her children and her foe.

In the present age we are witnessing a strengthening of the

¹ (1) *Communism and Man*. By F. J. Sheed. London: Sheed & Ward. Pp. xiv, 248. Price, 5s. (2) *Christ and the Workers*. By Stanley B. James. London: Sands. Pp. 144. Price, 5s.

Catholic body precisely in that field in which she has been accused of her greatest failure. When it appeared to many that the storm of social revolution would submerge the barque of Peter, the Popes have chosen to make use of the storm itself. From modern turmoil and indecision there will emerge neither a godless Communism nor the diseased Capitalism we have experienced for so long, but a social order, inspired by Catholic principles, which will reveal in a new splendour the beauty of the House of God. We have no doubts about this; indeed, we would have had none, had there been no Canon Cardijn. As it is, under his leadership and through his example, a new world is being fashioned before our very eyes. Mr. James surveys the teaching of Christ and the Apostles concerning the worker and the poor, reveals the dignity which manual labour enjoyed during the Middle Ages, and leads us forward to the ideal of the restoration of that dignity to-day. It is upon the acceptance of this notion that the success of any worker-apostolate depends. By stressing this old truth the Popes have given new hope to those engaged in manual toil and labour.

Canon Cardijn's part has been to show the Young Christian Worker how to apply this lesson to the Apostolate of the Working Classes in other countries. Mr. James's book should interest Englishmen in the attempts now being made to establish this movement in England. Personal enthusiasm moves him to allot to the worker perhaps too large a share in the public life of his remodelled world. We do not think that such a world will be "proletarian" to quite the extent the author imagines. If Christ chose for Himself the humblest of positions, this was not because He disapproved of those more coveted but because he condemned covetousness. He saw that there would always be higher positions to fill, and wealth for sane employment: therefore, He emphasized beyond all else poverty of heart.

J.H.R.

3—THE MANUSCRIPT EVIDENCE FOR ST. CYPRIAN'S *DE UNITATE*¹

THE version of St. Cyprian's *De Unitate*, which has been described as "the first of the papal forgeries," has provided a fruitful topic of discussion among patristic scholars especially during the last forty years. It was in 1897 that Archbishop Benson's book "St. Cyprian" revived interest in the subject. Father Bévenot, a professor of fundamental theology at Heythrop College, who is the author of the essay before us, hardly overstates the case when he tells us that in the Archbishop's monograph "the

¹ St. Cyprian's "*De Unitate*," chap. 4 in the *Light of the Manuscripts*. By Maurice Bévenot, S.J. Rome: at the publishing office of the Gregorian University. Pp. lxxxvi, 80. 1938.

duplicity, insincerity, hypocrisy of the Church of Rome in imposing forgeries upon the world were laid bare in true pamphleteering style." But in one respect we have reason to think kindly of this onslaught, so loudly acclaimed among Anglicans at the time, since it had the effect of prompting the late Abbot Chapman to undertake a detailed revision of the whole problem. Although a final solution was not reached, he did succeed in presenting a very strong case for the view that there had originally been two different texts of the fourth chapter of the *De Unitate*, and that St. Cyprian himself was the author of both. His arguments convinced Adolf Harnack, J. von Soden and a number of other prominent scholars, and from that time forth there has been little talk of Roman forgeries in connexion with St. Cyprian. But Abbot Chapman did not live to publish even his own matured views on this perplexed question, for, as his friend and predecessor at Downside, Abbot Cuthbert Butler, tells us, he was led shortly before his death to change his mind as to the priority of what passes as the "textus receptus." After reading in 1933 the arguments of Father Van der Eynde, he came to the conclusion that the more distinctively papalist attitude, revealed in one of the alternative versions of the famous fourth chapter, represented the text as St. Cyprian originally drafted it.

And now Father Bévenot comes along and presents his readers with a detailed but unavoidably intricate study of the manuscripts, some one hundred and fifty in number, through which the text of the little treatise has been preserved to us. In the course of this investigation he is able to show not only that the "primacy text" was written by St. Cyprian himself and was the earlier of the two original versions, but also that the last nine lines did not occur in the "primacy text" but belong to the "textus receptus" alone. It would be impossible in a limited space to outline the rather intricate argument which leads to these results, but it does very great credit to the author's discernment and grasp of a complicated problem. Moreover, the conclusion, as Father Bévenot points out, has an important bearing on the date of the treatise and on the motive of the revision to which St. Cyprian later subjected it. Without necessarily endorsing all the points upon which stress is laid in the course of the investigation, points which for the most part are urged very modestly, we have no hesitation in congratulating the author upon a fine piece of original work. No publication so far issued in the series *Analecta Gregoriana* does more to vindicate the high level of scholarship which it is hoped to maintain at the pontifical university. It seems rather a pity that together with the "skeleton texts," skilfully devised to illustrate the different families of the manuscript tradition, Father Bévenot has not also printed, even without an *apparatus criticus*, the text of the whole treatise. It would only have added a score of pages to his volume.

4—THE NEW TESTAMENT¹

SEVENTEEN years ago the Catholic Bible Congress met at Cambridge to commemorate the fifteenth centenary of St. Jerome, and that same year its lectures were published under the title: "The Religion of the Scriptures." The Cambridge Summer School of Catholic Studies, which first met in 1922, was a development of the 1921 Cambridge Catholic Bible Congress. It has already provided English-speaking Catholics with a very useful series of works treating of a variety of subjects of Catholic interest, but this recent addition is the first volume which treats professedly of Holy Scripture. It is interesting to note that of the seven original lecturers at the 1921 Catholic Bible Congress, four have contributed to this volume on the New Testament, viz., Mgr. Knox, Father Arendzen, Father Lattey and Father Martindale.

The present volume contains fourteen papers and, although it does not claim to be an *Introductio in Novum Testamentum* in the technical sense, readers will find that it covers a great deal of the matter which is usually treated in such Introductions—Background, Text, Gospels, Canon, Versions and Apocrypha. The Pauline Epistles did not fit into the general scheme of the 1937 Summer School, but Father Martindale gives us an excellent paper, the scope of which is to show "why St. Paul wrote the letters of which some have come down to us, or why, in each, he concentrated on some point or other of dogma or of practical affairs." Father Lattey treats of the composition of the Synoptic Gospels and develops the theory which he has exposed in an appendix to the Westminster Version, although he still insists that a predominant part was played by memory and tradition. Two papers which deserve special mention for their scholarship and clarity of exposition are "The Text of the New Testament," by Mgr. Barton, and "The Apocryphal Books of the New Testament," by Father Hugh Pope, O.P. The excellent documentation of this latter paper will be specially welcomed by students. The whole volume testifies to the steady advance of Catholic Biblical study in England.

The year of Pilate's deposition, given on p. 9, should read 36, not 37, in accordance with Holzmeister's rejection of Dobschütz's chronology. Cf. *Biblica* 13 (1932), 228—232.

T.J.C.

¹ *The New Testament*. Papers read at the Summer School of Catholic Studies, held at Cambridge, 1937. Preface by Rev. C. Lattey, S.J. London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne. Pp. xi, 344. Price, 7s. 6d.

SHORT NOTICES

THEOLOGICAL.

THE *Confessiones Sancti Augustini* are scarcely in need of introduction. They are one of the masterpieces of the world's literature. Should you have seven Italian lire or the English equivalent (1s. 4d.) to spare, you may purchase a pocket edition of the work, printed on thin paper, and enriched with notes and a short commentary on the various chapters by Fr. Wangnereck, S.J. I can hardly imagine a better bargain. But how do the publishers, Marietti of Turin, manage to give us this excellently printed edition of six hundred pages for so small a price?

Père Emile Mersch's *magnum opus* entitled *Le Corps Mystique du Christ* is now recognized as a classic. First published in 1933 and then reissued two years ago in a second and enlarged edition, it is a masterpiece of historical theology, and is the best modern work from which we may study the central doctrine of our association with Christ. Père Mersch's two volumes are now available in an English translation, issued in one book, **The Whole Christ** (Coldwell: 21s. n.). This book appears in the Religion and Culture Series, edited by Father Husslein, S.J., and Father John R. Kelly is responsible for the very satisfactory English version. There are a few changes from the original. Père Lebreton's preface is omitted, the analytical table of contents has been greatly reduced and the index shortened. The Old Testament is cited according to the Douay Version, while the "more modern and more readable, though unofficial Westminster Version" is employed for the New Testament passages. The purpose of the work is to trace the development of the doctrine of the Mystical Body throughout the Scriptures and Tradition. Our Lord's own words are given us from the Gospels, and those of St. Paul from his Epistles. The double tradition, Greek and Latin, is then studied. It is to be noticed that the doctrine develops somewhat differently in the East and West. For the Greeks, the Father gives life to the Son. The Son, becoming incarnate, communicates eternal life, first to the human nature He has assumed, and then to the human race. In the Latin Church we have to wait for St. Augustine to find as full an exposition as is evidenced earlier in the East, and here the doctrine is associated with the problems of freedom and of grace. That these problems may be solved, reference is made to Christ, the source of grace, who unites man with God and thus confers upon creatures the possibility of supernatural activity through incorporation with Himself. The translator modestly suggests that the scholar and specialist will not depend upon his version but will continue to consult the French original. By the omission

of the longer critical and exegetical notes the size of the new volume has been reduced, and the book is meant to appeal to a wider public to which it may be heartily recommended.

A further publication of the same firm is entitled **Chrestomathia Bernardina** (10.00 l.), and is compiled by Father Piszter of the Cistercians. The work is an introduction to the theology and doctrines of St. Bernard in which the Saint is allowed to speak for himself. It is divided into three sections which treat respectively of his General, Special and Moral teaching. Some of the very finest passages of his writings and sermons appear in due order and make a useful introduction to those works and their particularly devotional spirit.

MORAL.

Two volumes of the **Institutiones Theologiae Moralis**, by the late Father S. a Loiano, O.M.Cap., have been noticed in *THE MONTH* (August and December, 1935), and now a third volume arrives treating of Justice, Contracts (with special reference to Italian law), and the obligations of clerics and religious (Marietti: 40.00 l.). It will be seen at once that the work is ample in compass, and the opinions of authors quoted are given quite fully. It may be noted, however, that these extracts suffer from a certain "time-lag." Thus Genicot-Salsmans is cited for an opinion on the question of the family wage which has been abandoned in the 1931 edition of that work. But the author is no mere compiler; he can make his own addition to the discussion of a problem, as for example, in the treatment (p. 683) of "vocal" recitation of the Breviary. In general outlook, the author is a Probabilist.

PHILOSOPHICAL.

So much fresh work is appearing nowadays on medieval Scholasticism that we welcome a new English edition of the second volume of Professor De Wulf's great **History of Medieval Philosophy** (Longmans: 17s. 6d.). It is the third version in English and is based by the translator, Dr. E. C. Messenger, upon the sixth edition of the original. The work has been thoroughly revised and incorporates the results of modern research down to the year 1936. In the future it will presumably require a group of writers rather than a single authority, however eminent, to maintain this history fully abreast of modern discovery. Indeed, it is noticeable that the *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche*, for example, is more exact and more fully informed than Professor De Wulf on many of the minor personalities of that strangely impersonal age. One might instance the treatment of Richard Rufus of Cornwall, who still figures in the index as two different men, although the text now identifies them. It is a matter for regret that the English edition omits "a long section on the new Latin translations of philosophic works," as it is precisely in the medieval translators

of Aristotle that non-Catholic scholars in England are beginning to manifest an interest, and are finding points of contact with Scholasticism: but possibly what was hitherto published in the original has been judged not to be sufficiently final in view of recent research. Four pages of corrigenda to Volume I accompany this volume. Here misprints are less conspicuous, but something must be wrong with the statement concerning St. Albert the Great (p. 101) that "he glosses sin by excess." For all that, the work is a classic in its genre and we shall not see its like for many years to come.

DEVOTIONAL.

Why should "hikers" be left without their special book of meditations? The Abbé Mendigal does not see why they should, and in his short volume *Sur la Route avec le Bon Dieu* (Éditions Spes: 11.00 fr.) he offers thoughts to those who choose to spend their leisure time "en plein air" or "sous la belle étoile." There is something of the spirit of St. Francis in his suggestions: he rises to God from the contemplation of a forest or the rushing wind, from a line of tents pitched for the night, from a shepherd's dog or the humble "crapaud" or toad. A meal in the open or the peasant working in his field reminds him of things unseen. Finally, the atmosphere changes. The phrase "en route" is visualized as the final route on earth of the Son of Man, as the Way of the Cross. A charming book, rich with bright and inspiring words. A charming addition to the French series of "Directives" is Renée Zeller's *Florilège de Notre Dame* (Flammarion: 2.25 fr.). It is a collection of carols, legends and sermon-extracts that touch upon the major incidents of our Lady's life. It begins with a reference to the tercentenary of France's consecration to the Madonna (1638—1938), and the text of Louis XIII's vow is given in full. There are passages from Saints Augustine and Francis de Sales, from Bossuet and Pierre Loti: popular carols and laments: legends like that of the jongleur Pierre at Rocamadour and of the knight who sold his wife to the devil (a medieval version of the later "Miracle" theme). A most pleasant ensemble that simply clamours for a translator.

The author of *Présence Mariale*, François Charmot, S.J. (Éditions Spes: 12.00 fr.), assures us that he is not writing a work of theology. This seems very evident; nor is he writing a Scripture study, since he uses very freely both the analogical interpretation of the Old Testament and the imaginative interpretation of the New. Perhaps this will appeal less to English readers than to those for whom the book is primarily intended; all the more since he writes with a certain rhetorical hyperbole to which the English reader is unaccustomed. Certain expressions, for instance, that our Lady is the "neck" of the Mystical Body, had, we thought, already been disapproved of by Holy Church. No doubt this book

will help a certain class of spiritual readers; it will not, we think, help all.

ASCETICAL.

An interesting study in connexion with the scriptural foundation of the Religious Life is presented by the small monograph of Dr. P. Albert van Gansewinkel, S.V.D., **Die Grundlage für den Rat des Gehorsams in den Evangelien** (Missionsdruckerei St. Gabriel, Mödling bei Wien). It is concerned, as its title indicates, with the counsel of obedience to a religious Superior. The author studies the foundation of this counsel in the Gospels, the pertinent texts of which he examines in the light of the teaching of the Fathers and Theologians, and of the historical development of the idea of the Religious Life. This is the fourth in the series of Studies published by the Philosophical and Theological Academy of St. Gabriel.

LITURGICAL.

The third volume of the *Caerimoniale juxta ritum Romanum*, by Padre Moretti, fully maintains the standard of the preceding two, noticed here in September, 1936, and May, 1938. The new part, entitled **De Sacris Functionibus infra Annum Occurrentibus** (Marietti: 30.00 l.), deals with the Liturgy of the Church during the year; with Advent, Candlemas, Holy Week, Corpus Christi, etc. Occasional functions such as the Forty Hours are considered, and there is a full treatment of the ceremonial for a Synod and for a Plenary Council. There are a number of diagrams to illustrate the text; the whole work is competent and well-appointed.

"The vast and holy crowd of religious women" (this is the author's expression, not the reviewer's) who recite the full Office or at least the Office of our Lady, will find Dom Ernest Graf's **The Church's Daily Prayer** (B.O. & W.: 5s.) of considerable help. This does not mean, of course, that its usefulness is confined to them. It provides an introduction, historical and descriptive, to the various parts of the Divine Office. The book is practical rather than scholarly, and is written in a clear and straightforward style. It will certainly contribute to a better and more intelligent appreciation of the Church's official prayer.

NON-CATHOLIC.

From Messrs. J. M. Dent come four Bible books for children (each 2s. 6d.), adapted and illustrated by Maud and Miska Peter-sham. Their titles are **Moses: Joseph and his Brothers: Ruth: David**. The text is simplified from the Old Testament by the two ladies responsible for the books. The pictures are well drawn but perhaps too highly coloured: on the whole, the Egyptian scenes and characters are more attractive than the Jewish ones. The volumes are neat and nicely produced: they ought to appeal to the children for whom they are intended.

LITERARY.

Whatever be the school to which the reader may belong, it is certain that **Second Spring, A Play about Newman**, by Emmet Lavery (Longmans: 6s.), will be acknowledged as a masterpiece of character drawing. On this very account it is a challenge which is likely to lead to controversy; for while all will recognize the truth and beauty of the character of Newman, some will put another interpretation on the personality of Manning. This the author understands and expects; indeed, as he says in his Preface, his presentation is intended to be a challenge to certain accepted opinions. Leaving this aside, we are fascinated by the admirable consistency of the lights and shadows throughout the play, the perfection of the dialogue as adapted for the stage, the skill with which the author has seized upon just those events which best illustrate the pathos of Newman's life. His "play" consists of a series of scenes, starting with Newman at twenty up to the famous funeral oration at the Oratory after his death. And yet it is just this final scene which makes one hesitate. There must be few now alive who were present on that memorable occasion; the present reviewer is one, and he cannot help reflecting that the impression left on the audience at the time was not quite that which Mr. Lavery would seem to imply. But again we are being drawn into questioning; for we doubt very much whether Manning meant that discourse to be an acknowledgment that he was wrong, and posterity has still to decide whether he was mistaken.

VERSE.

Gold-Dusty, by Vera Marie Tracy (Coldwell: 6s. 6d.) is a collection of somewhat "disparate" verse, containing ideas and phrases of real beauty, which, however, lose their full value from a too-obvious facility. This leads also to faulty scansion and misplaced accents. But occasionally, as in "Night Watches" and "The Keening," there is much pathos, and the simplicity that is the expression of a deep and genuine emotion. "Interpretations," while one of the shortest, is perhaps the best conceived and constructed poem in the book.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Mr. H. J. Timperley's **What War Means: Japanese Terror in China** (Gollancz: 7s. 6d.) is sufficiently explained by its title. It is a documentary account by the China correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian* of the Japanese behaviour towards civilians since the outbreak of the present hostilities. Much of the book consists of the dispatches prepared for that paper but which Japanese censorship prevented from reaching it. Neither in style nor matter does it make pleasant reading, but it will have served a

useful purpose if it brings home to any who may still be unconvinced, the appalling consequences, for military and civilians alike, of modern methods of war. It shows, too, how the lack of discipline in the invading forces has increased the sufferings of the civil population. The work is excellently documented: dates and details are scrupulously given: here also are the various unheeded letters of protest. "Robbery, Murder and Rape" is the heading of one of its chapters: this might have been made the sub-title of the whole book. It is a telling indictment of war and of those who wage it without humanity or scruple.

Those who enjoy war books will discover a welcome addition to their collections in Mr. John Lucy's **There's a Devil in the Drum** (Faber & Faber: 8s. 6d.). The story takes us back to 1912 when the author joined the army in Ireland. In the first part there is frequent mention of his brother who enlisted with him and fought at his side in France. The brother was killed in action in September, 1914. The second part carries us to the time of the author's commission. In December, 1917, he was severely wounded and invalided home. There the story ends. The various experiences of war are vividly pictured in a direct and simple and yet graphic manner. There is little humour in the book and much grim tragedy. It is readable and compelling, and its final lesson is that of the cruelty and folly of war.

Somerset Folk (Heath Cranton: 3s. 6d.), by Father Ethelbert Horne, is a collection of delightful short stories about Somerset, Somerset folk and Somerset customs. The style is fluent and attractive and there is an abundance of amusing and yet readable dialect. The stories are varied, humorous, tragic and exciting, and each one has its particular charm. They are an excellent contribution to healthy light literature.

The versatile Mr. Peter Anson gives us a short history of what has been attempted for Catholic seamen in **The Story of the Apostleship of the Sea** (1s. n.). He writes from long acquaintance with the Apostleship, and characters like Father Egger and Brother Shields, S.J., find their proper place in his interesting narrative. Between 1920 and 1938 the number of Seamen's Institutes increased from 11 to 58, that of Honorary Port Chaplains from 10 to 260 and of lay-workers in ports from 100 to 1,550. These figures alone show how rapid has been the development of this very necessary and fruitful apostolate. For most of us the name of Father Martindale is inevitably associated with the work, and to him Mr. Anson pays fitting and well-deserved tribute.

In **An Introduction to Liturgical Latin** (Coldwell: 4s. 6d.) Mr. A. M. Scarre gives us what might be termed a Hugo method for learning Latin, and not the Latin of the classics but the easier and more living liturgical language of the Church. The student is introduced gradually to the grammar that he must know: and

from the beginning there are simple examples and exercises taken from the litanies and the Gospels. The book is well arranged and can safely be used "without a master." It may be recommended to those who have not learnt the language in any other way and are desirous of understanding the Missal and the Breviary.

MINOR PUBLICATIONS.

Among recent pamphlets of the C.T.S. (2d. each) are to be mentioned Professor Renouf's short biography of the great Catholic man of science, Louis Pasteur. Pasteur is so often quoted as the perfect example of a harmony between faith and modern discovery that those who thus refer to him, should be able to back their quotation with some knowledge of his life. Here is an excellent pamphlet, with an adequate account of his research, everything within the compass of forty pages. **The Holy Ghost and the Sacred Heart** contains an English version, reprinted from *The Tablet*, of two Encyclicals of Leo XIII, the first, "Divinum Illud," written in 1897 on the Holy Spirit, the second, two years later, to promote devotion to the Sacred Heart and generally known by its two opening words, "Annum Sacrum." In **Is Faith Credulity?** Father P. M. Northcote discusses the Christian's approach to knowledge, and points to the firm foundation of faith. Father H. C. Fincham tells the story of **The Southwark Travelling Mission**, founded in 1926, and of various developments which it has made possible. Two shorter leaflets (1d. each) present in succinct and effective form **The Communist Programme**, by T. W. C. Curd, and a statement of **Catholic Teaching on Abortion**, by Father H. Davis, S.J., this a reprint from *The Tablet*.

The Catholic Mind (5 cents) for September 8th includes three articles and addresses on Education. As usual, they are invigorating and soundly practical.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Reviewed in present issue or reserved for future notice.)

BEAUCHESNE, Paris.

Au Dieu Inconnu. By Fr. V. Dilard, S.J. Pp. 232.

BLACKFRIARS, Oxford.

The Cambridge Dominicans. By Fr. W. Gumbley, O.P. Pp. 48. Price, 1s.

BROWNE & NOLAN, Dublin.

Alfred Noyes on Voltaire. (A reprint.) By Mary Ryan. Pp. 24. Price, 6d.

BURNS, OATES & WASHBOURNE, LTD., London.

Christ and Youth. By Rev. Noel Gascoigne. Pp. 61. Price, 1s.

A Sixteenth Century Nobleman. By M. G. Benziger. Pp. 122. Price,

3s. 6d. *The Church's Daily Prayer.*

By Dom Ernest Graf, O.S.B. Pp.

x, 165. Price, 5s. *A Modern Mystic.*

By an Irish Carmelite. Pp. ix, 123.

Price, 5s. *At the School of St. Thérèse*

of the Child Jesus. From her own

- Writings, etc. Translated by Very Rev. Michael Collins. Pp. xvi, 80. Price, 2s. 6d. *Wings of Charity*. By M. Goudareau. Translated by the Benedictines of Teignmouth. Pp. xix, 188. Price, 3s. 6d.
- COLDWELL, London.
- An Introduction to Liturgical Latin*. By A. M. Scarre. Pp. 216. Price, 4s. 6d. *The Salvation of the Nations*. By H. Franke. Pp. 142. Price, 4s. *The Church and the Nineteenth Century*. By Fr. R. Corrigan, S.J. Pp. xviii, 326. Price, 15s.
- DENT & SONS, LTD., London.
- Joseph and his Brothers*. By Maud and Miska Petersham. Pp. 28. Price, 2s. 6d. *Moses*. By Maud and Miska Petersham. Pp. 30. Price, 2s. 6d. *Ruth*. By Maud and Miska Petersham. Pp. 30. Price, 2s. 6d. *David*. By Maud and Miska Petersham. Pp. 32. Price, 2s. 6d.
- DESCLÉE DE BROUWER, Bruges.
- La Soif*. By Gabriel Marcel. Pp. 292. Price, 24.00 fr.
- EDICIONES RAYFE, Burgos.
- El Mundo Católico y la Carta Colectiva del Episcopado Español*. Pp. 195. Price, 6 pesetas.
- ÉDITIONS DU CERF, Paris.
- Catholicisme—Les aspects sociaux du dogme*. By Fr. H. de Lubac, S.J. Pp. xiv, 374. Price, 45.00 fr.
- ÉDITIONS DE L'ORANTE, Paris.
- La Sainteté de la Femme*. By Fr. P. Doncoeur, S.J. Pp. 72. Price, 8.00 fr.
- HALE & CO., London.
- Russia's Work in France*. By Reginald J. Dingle. Pp. 278. Price, 12s. 6d.
- HEATH CRANTON, LTD., London.
- High Treason against Europe*. By Karl Vietz. Pp. viii, 166. Price, 3s. 6d.
- HEFFER, Cambridge.
- United Christian Front*. A Symposium, edited by Sir Henry Lunn. Pp. 174. Price, 3s. 6d.
- HERDER, Freiburg.
- Lernet den Christusglauben kennen*. By Dr. Rudolf Peil. Pp. xx, 252. Price, 3.60 rm.; bound in cloth, 4.80 rm.
- HERDER, London.
- The Conflict between Ethics and Sociology*. By the Rt. Rev. S. Deplodge. Translated by Fr. C. Milner. Pp. vi, 386. Price, 12s. 6d. *The Church: its Divine Authority*. By Fr. L. Koesters, S.J. Translated by Fr. E. G. Kaiser. Pp. xiv, 342. Price, 12s. 6d. *The Canon Law governing Communities of Sisters*. By Fr. F. Geser. Pp. xii, 416. Price, 12s. 6d. *Belief in God*. By the Very Rev. Tihamer Toth. Translated by V. Agotai. Pp. iv, 176. Price, 7s. 6d.
- LONGMANS, London.
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